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es as well
ead. Left,

James O. Plinton who is, in effect, liaison representative for Mr. Burgess, and right, Capt. Robert N. Buck, veteran TWA pilot who currently is serving as special adviser to the TWA president on the airline's jet integration program.

nton a Busy Man!

al relations director to lia-
n representative for TWA
esident Carter L. Burgess.
is has all happened in the
ir months since joining the
line in August, 1957.
His day "was"

may address, Rotary, church or
civic groups near his home
community of Westfield, N. J.,
or elsewhere on the airline's
system.

"With our flights of new Jet

Pittsburgh, Pa.
PRESS
SUN-TELEGRAPH
POST-GAZETTE
COURIER ✓

Date 12-28-57
Edition New York
Page 3
Column 1 & 2
Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case

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God forbid that he should succeed! For there is another and greater mind upon this earth, the mind of the peoples of the world. Just as surely as the Southerner might win the mind of the white Northerner, America would lose the mind (the support and confidence) of the peoples of the world.

These peoples are not all Communist peoples, but their minds are minds America needs as she faces the future. No American can ignore the fact that Africa is the continent of the future. Africa has natural resources vital to America. But Africans who are now fighting off their colonizers are not going to be interested in a nation which demeans and denigrates a human being because he is black.

Thus the propagandists of the South are bound to lose in the long run. Our principal fear is not so much concerned with the extent of the damage the Southern propagandists may cause us, but the extent to which they may harm America.

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file 105-34237-1111

Citizens Councils

(CIVIL RIGHTS)
 A NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP TODAY URGED SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND (D-MISS.), CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, TO INVESTIGATE THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS AND THE KU KLUX KLAN AS WELL AS COMMUNISTS.
 IN A LETTER TO EASTLAND, THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONED WHETHER THE SENATE INVESTIGATIONS HAVE APPLIED A "DOUBLE STANDARD, THAT IS, ONE STANDARD IN INVESTIGATING THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM TO THE NATION'S SECURITY AND ANOTHER STANDARD IN FAILING TO INVESTIGATE A SIMILAR THREAT TO THE COUNTRY IN THE ACTIONS OF THE CITIZENS COUNCILS OR LIKE ORGANIZATIONS."
 THE CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP SAID ITS MEMBERS ARE "THOUSANDS OF COLLEGE GRADUATES, FRATERNITY AND SORORITY PEOPLE." ITS PRESIDENT IS PROF. NANCY B. OF HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA., A NEGRO SCHOOL.
 --N525P

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

Integration Tension Goes Deep on the Delta

BY RELMAN MORIN

ISSAQUENA COUNTY, Miss.—
This is the Deep South.

This is the Delta, flat and fertile, formed by the mighty Mississippi, draining a continent.

Drooping willows fringe the bayous. Pintail ducks and beaver forage in the reeds. Deep in the plantation, you hear the dogs baying on the scent of a fox. The water snake watches his enemies, man and animal, with eyes of frozen hatred.

This is the land of cotton and sharecroppers.

Here, in some counties, the Negro outnumbers the white man by three to one, and more.

The rickety, weather-worn shacks lining sandy country roads often house Negro families of 10 and 12 in two rooms.

It is here, in the Delta, that the great social struggle over integrating the schools stands out, stripped to the raw. The Supreme Court ruling . . . Little Rock . . . Nashville . . . the bombings and beatings . . . all take on a new and special meaning in the Delta.

Sharp Perspective

Here you feel the full force of the words of a Southern educator, Prof. A. D. Albright of Kentucky:

"Integration is more important to the Negroes than the white man realizes, and segregation is more important to whites than the Negro realizes."

Integration will be a long time coming to the Delta. People, white and Negro alike, guess 10 years, 30 years, 50 years. Some whites say "never." They agree on an important point—that the groping first efforts of interracial groups to find solutions to the many-sided school problem are now at a standstill.

They say the Supreme Court ruling of 1954 first slowed these moves, and that the use of Federal troops at Little Rock brought them to a stop.

"There is less liaison now than at any time since I've lived in Mississippi—22 years," says Hodging Carter, publisher and historian who is widely known for his writings on the South. "Religious and educational groups had made some beginnings. But we're back at arm's length now."

Father John LaBauve, Negro priest of the Roman Catholic Church in the all-Negro community of Mound Bayou, said:

"There was a growing disposition to meet on an equal basis, as American citizens, prior to 1954. This has been set back, temporarily, by the Supreme Court ruling. As for Little Rock, we definitely feel it was an unfortunate occurrence. That's not the same as saying it was not justified. But it upset and disturbed a great many Negroes."

The original White Citizens Council, extreme segregationist group, was formed in Mississippi, at the Delta town of Indianola, July 11, 1954, by 14 men.

Attitudes Stiffen

Since Little Rock, they say, sentiment has hardened as never before. You hear this everywhere in the South.

What about the feeling of the Negro communities in the Delta?

A Negro professional man in Louisiana, who asked not to be identified, said this:

"Not even a Negro can say he knows what a Negro feels today. In my judgment, though, our people are split into three groups. First, there are those who feel this thing should be fought out, bitterly, right now. A second group feels that movement, progress, is the important thing. As long as the ball is rolling, they say, it should be kept rolling, but they want to make it as painless as possible. Finally, there are those who have not allowed themselves to think about it. They are concerned

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with keeping their jobs and maintaining peaceful relations with their employers."

His personal feeling, he said, is that the prime necessity is to re-establish good relations between the races.

"You don't establish good will with legislation. I'm not saying you shouldn't legislate. But after you've done that, you have to have people of good will who will sit down together and talk it out. Otherwise, it just won't work."

Whatever else the events of the past few years have done, there is a big movement in Mississippi today to equalize the school facilities of the whites and Negroes.

Recently Oliver Emmerich, editor of the McComb Daily Enterprise, wrote in his paper:

"We must be honest with ourselves and admit to ourselves that good Negro schools have been postponed far too long—and that other racial injustices within the South have contributed to our current debacle.

"When the time comes (for integration) all fortifications built on negative thinking will crumble. Not with arms nor threats nor intemperance nor emotional outbursts nor economic pressures can Mississippi hope to find a satis-

factory solution to the school integration problem."

Southern editors have been beaten, cursed and harassed for much less.

However, Mr. Emmerich told this reporter the reaction to his statement has been "95 per cent favorable." He said it was widely reprinted in the South.

"I received some nasty letters and many with questions, which I have tried to answer, but on the whole the reaction has been unusually favorable."

Yet Mr. Emmerich is not an integrationist.

"I'm opposed to integration," he said. "Where you have a history of racial friction, the answer is not to mix the races in the schools and thus provide more points of friction, but to really give them equal facilities."

Sentiment along these lines probably was reflected in the \$120 million school building program authorized by the Mississippi Legislature in 1953. In succeeding years, the actual outlay for new schools more than doubled funds allocated earlier.

David Brown of the Greenville Delta Democrat, who made a special study of the program, said "more than 75 per cent of the money spent so far has been for Negro schools."

A plantation owner, L. T. Wade—who has between 15 and 20 Negro families on his property—said:

"If they give us time, we're going to equalize this thing. We're really making an effort now. Equal schools would help them and help us. Mechanization on the farms will raise their living standards. So we want to have more mechanical courses to train the boys to care for the farm machinery, and then pay them for their new abilities."

In Greenville, an experienced, farsighted Negro, Charles Burton, has been the county agricultural agent for 17 years. He first brought the Negro farmer into the Delta experimental station, and is working with them, not only to improve crops but to raise their living standards.

He knows their net annual income, the things they want to buy with it, and how they see the future.

To explain, Mr. Burton cites his experiences in Liberia. The State Department sent him there several years ago as a farm instructor.

"I worked among people who are naked, whose food comes from the bush, who are completely uncivilized," he said. "But I discovered that their hopes and desires and ambitions are the same as

mine. They just want the better things for themselves and their children. You can't find one who wouldn't give you every child he has and say, "Take him to America and educate him."

Some Negroes told this reporter they want the principle of integration today, if not the practice—that is, that they have a right to go to a given school whether they actually go there or not.

Said Father LaBauve in Mound Bayou:

"I don't think anyone wants integration just for the sake of integration. However, if getting a tax-paid American education entails sitting beside a white American, then we want the same opportunity that America affords all its citizens, even the naturalized and the displaced persons."

Question of 'Morals'

It may take a long time, however, before the Delta as a whole accepts desegregated schools. Why?

The Southerner claims the Negro has a lower moral standard, a high rate of illegitimacy. "I don't want my kids sitting next to kids who come from such homes and talk openly about sex."

Father LaBauve replies:

"I have found that when people live under certain economic conditions—slum conditions—their moral condition is practically the same, regardless of the color of their skins. The only reason it exists among Negroes is that more of our people than whites have to live under such conditions."

Hodding Carter linked this with "the emotional fear that integration at the public school level will lead to miscegenation (racial intermarriage)."

In a community where white students might comprise only one-third or less of the school population, this fear seems particularly acute in the Southern mind.

"It's nonsense and a contradiction," says Mr. Carter, "to insult a white girl by assuming she will rush madly into the arms of a Negro if she has a chance."

He said he himself is not prepared to accept integration at the grade school level.

"It would pull the white students back if you do it in those communities where there would be something approaching equal numbers between the white and Negro students," he says.

He feels that better economic conditions for the Delta Negro, full civil rights, voting privileges, etc., are more important than integrating the schools.

"Once a Negro achieves true equality, he won't give a damn about the schools. He will have the right to send his child to an integrated school or choose not to send him there," he said.

(The Associated Press)



DELTA FARM—In the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., farmer Joe Ford visits with Father John LaBauve, who says racial equality efforts there were set back, temporarily, by the integration decision.

From Living Room Meeting, Citizens Councils Span US

Fourteen men met one evening in the living room of a home in Indianola, Miss., and founded an organization that has spread throughout the entire country, without a single organizer to spur the movement.

It was in July, 1954, shortly after the historic decision by the Supreme Court on school integration, that the group of men met in the D. H. Hawkins home. They founded what has become known as the Citizens' Councils.

Since that time, other Citizens' Councils have been organized in all but 15 counties of Mississippi—several counties having more than one—and in 14 other states. In addition, there are similar organizations in at least 20 more states, although these are called by different names because members would be subjected to persecution if it were known they were a part of such a movement as the Citizens' Councils represent.

SPEEDY GROWTH

Standing for states' rights and racial integrity, the Citizens' Councils grew speedily at first, while the decision of the high tribunal was fresh in the people's minds.

There was no organizational work for the Councils. After the movement was started, people in other counties heard of it and decided to form like groups. They asked for advice. After a number of groups were set up there was a need of a state organization to coordinate all efforts.

But the state group, also, did not foster new organizations. It had speakers ready to go when and where asked, but these were furnished only on request.

As a grass roots movement, the Citizens' Councils grew in numbers throughout Mississippi, then started jumping state lines. First there was interest, and an organization, in Louisiana. Before long there were CC's in all the Southern states.

STATE ASSOCIATIONS

Most of the states found they, too, needed a central organization within the state to coordinate the efforts, and within three years there were not only the local councils, but state organizations in 15 commonwealths.

Membership, after the initial surge of interest, maintained itself at about the same level in most councils. There were those who dropped out for a lack of interest, but there were new members who joined and kept the ranks at an almost constant figure.

Then came Little Rock.

The movement of federal troops into Arkansas' capitol city had the effect of giving a shot in the arm to the Citizens' Councils. Some might even call it a blood transfusion.

So much interest was shown in the South after the Faubus-like actions that the busiest persons in the states were those accepting memberships in the various Citizens' Councils. The numbers grow by thousands almost over night and the interest has been maintained since.

NEW INTEREST

Jackson's membership has jumped more than one-third.

There are new calls daily, Robert B. Patterson, secretary of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi, reports for information and for speakers.

From his office in Greenwood, Patterson maintains contacts with the councils all over the nation.

Similar contacts are also maintained from Jackson by W. J. Simmons, editor of The Citizens' Council, the official paper of the Citizens' Councils of America. The newspaper, published monthly, goes to a vast audience of readers in every state and several foreign countries.

Patterson states that membership in the councils in Mississippi is now nearing the 90,000 mark and adds that since Little Rock the most noteworthy development has been the new interest of ladies in the group's undertaking. "More women than ever before are joining the councils", he advises.

DEDICATION

Citizens Councils everywhere follow two tenets which were set up by the Mississippi founders. One is the dedication:

"Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our communities and in our state and to the preservation of our state's rights".

The other is the pattern of operation, which is three-fold:

1—Local independence (each local council is independent of all others and none is bound in convention by any other).

2—Strength is in communities (a local movement everywhere, with local leadership).

3—Quality of leadership (united across factional lines, not in the hands of politicians but in the hands of the leaders of the community).

DEFINITION

Members point to the definition of their group with great pride. They say:

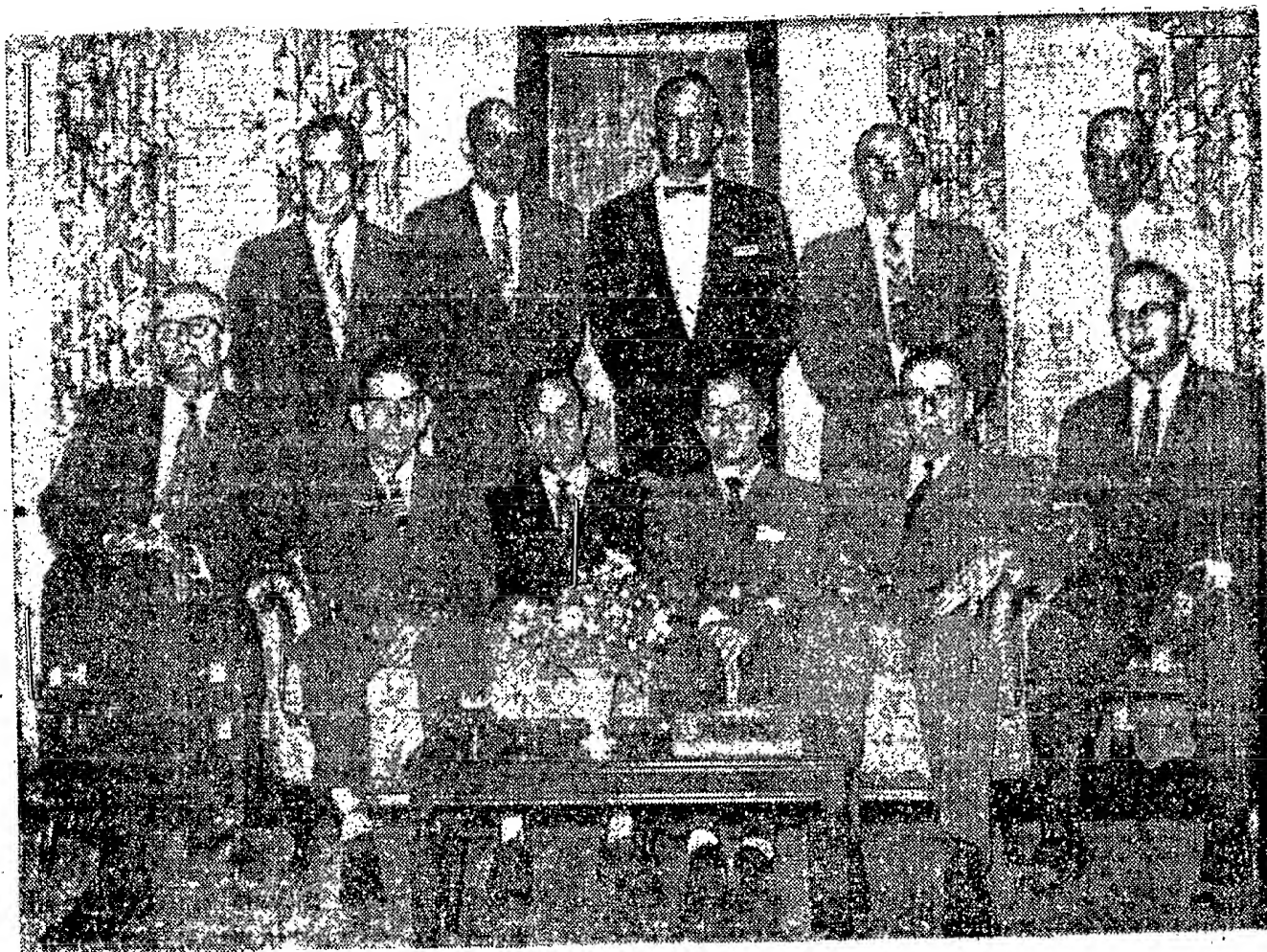
"The Citizens' Council is the modern version of the old-time town meeting called to meet any crisis by expressing the will of the people. The right to peaceably assemble to petition for a redress of our grievances is guaranteed in the first one of our Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the United States of America. The only reliable prophet for the future is the past, and history proves that the Supreme Power in the government of men has always been Public Sentiment. The Citizens Council simply provides the machinery for mobilizing, concerting and expressing public opinion."

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

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Citizens Councils



11 OF 14 ORIGINAL CITIZENS COUNCIL MEMBERS

Pictured in the living room of the D. H. Hawkins home at Indianola, where they met with three others and formed the first Citizens Council, are 11 of the founders of the movement that has grown nation wide in scope. They are: Seated from left to right, D. R. Gibson, F. L. Tindall, Dr. J. C. Shirley, A. B.

Clark, Jr., A. E. Britt, W. N. Gist. Standing left to right, A. R. East, W. D. Hemphill, R. B. Patterson, D. H. Hawkins, T. M. Pitts. Absent when this picture was taken are the three other founders, Herman Moore, Bill Hendon and J. P. Metcalf.

Lawyer From Little Rock To Speak In City

Amis Guthridge, prominent attorney of Little Rock, Ark., will address the citizens of Lauderdale county and East Mississippi in the Circuit court room of the Lauderdale County Court House at 7:30 p. m. Thursday.

Guthridge is a graduate of State Teachers College, Conway, Ark., where he later served for seven years as a member of the board of trustees, is a graduate of the Little Rock School of Law, chief counsel, Arkansas Ass'n of Citizens' councils and Capitol Citizens' Council of Little Rock, state Rights Democrats of Arkansas in 1948, is attorney for the Mothers League of Central High school and the Freedom Fund of Little Rock. Guthridge represents a number of the defendants arrested during the Little Rock occupancy, and appeared for the white people of Hoxie, Ark., during their court battle on integration. Guthridge's appearance here is sponsored by the Lauderdale County Citizens' Council.

The public is to attend.

Robert

W. E. Brown

C. F. W. W. W.

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Says Civil Rights Constitutional Fight

By CHARLES M. HILLS
Congressman Martin Dies, Tex-
as Democrat, told the Mississippi
Citizens Council here last night
that the civil rights conflict of
the times is not actually over
aggregation, but instead, the con-
stitutional rights of the states.

"The real fight," he told some
1,500 Mississippians, "is whether
the constitution written by our
founding fathers is to rule or suc-
cumb to judicial interpretations."

Speaking at City Auditorium
here at a rally of the Citizens
Councils of the state, Congress-
man Dies declared that "insidious
forces would replace our constitu-
tion, when in reality, any changes
if needed, can be made by amend-
ment."

"Any attempt to reconstruct the
constitution of the United States
by interpretation or re-draft can
only lead to disaster for the na-
tion," Dies declared.

"I don't believe that the people
of this nation will ever stand for
the destruction of the constitution
as framed by our founding fathers
if they are acquainted with the
issues," Dies said.

"The Supreme Court seems to
have no respect for the other
branches of government, and with-
out the check balance of the equal
rights of the executive, judiciary
and legislative, it will be impos-
sible to maintain our Democratic
form of government," Dies declar-
ed.

The speaker called the resist-
ance against supreme court deci-
sions on segregation a perfor-
mance of great service.

A large segment of the Mississip-
pi legislature in attendance at the
Council rally, was told that "we

hear much of abolition of our
state laws against integration."

"I tell you," Dies said, "they
can hold our statutes invalid, but
they can't keep us from passing
them. You can keep on passing
laws as fast as the supreme court
overthrows them. No force can
make us integrate if the people
don't want to, and there has been
no integration where local law
enforcement has resisted.

"The greatest court of last re-
sort is the will of the people,"
Dies declared.

"If we will stand together in
the South, we can watch the
Northern Democrats and Northern
Republicans beat their heads to-
gether and we will have the last
say," Dies told his audience.

He declared that too many Sou-
thern leaders are trying to be
president or vice president and

Continued On Page 10
Continued from Page 1

that this tendency is weakening
our government strength and their
own chances of getting anywhere.

Dies declared that the civil
rights bills are in actuality civil
wrongs.

Mr. Dies was introduced here
by Congressman W. M. Collier, of
Mississippi, dean of the state dele-
gation in the Congress. Congress-
man John Bell Williams served as
master of ceremonies for the rally.
Dr. G. T. Gillespie, president
emeritus of Belhaven College,
gave the invocation.

Gov. J. P. Coleman was present
for the meeting, speaking briefly
at the outset with a statement that
he knew Congressman Dies 20
years ago in Washington when he
was a special secretary in Wash-
ington.

Other officials present included
Congressmen J. Jamieson, Whitten,
Charleston and Arthur Winstead of
Philadelphia.

State officers appearing on the
platform included Lt. Gov. Carroll
Gartin, Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patter-
son, State Treasurer Bob Morrow,
State Auditor Boyd Holding, and
Commissioner Bob Graham, Pub-
lic Service Commissioner Norman
Johnson, Jr., and House Speaker

Walter Sillers, Jr., of
Circuit Judge Tom Brady, of
Brookhaven, and Dick King, past
president of the Jackson Chamber
of Commerce, along with Mayor
Allen C. Thompson were also in-
troduced. Supreme Court Clerk
Tom Q. Ellis, Past President Mar-
vin Cullen of the chamber of
Commerce, State Council Secre-
tary Bob Patterson and State Ad-
ministrator Bill Simmons also oc-
cupied the platform.

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**CITIZEN'S COUNCIL
REPORT**

REGULAR SEMI-MONTHLY
MEETING ANNOUNCED
FOR
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1ST.
AT
10th Street Rental Office
Bldg.—TIME 7:30 P.M.

VISITORS ARE URGED TO AT-
TEND THESE MEETINGS.
COME AND BRING THE
FAMILY.

EVERY ADULT MAN AND WO-
MAN IN JACKSON COUNTY
SHOULD BECOME A MEMBER
OF THE CITIZEN'S COUNCIL.
Mail your application today

**JACKSON COUNTY
CITIZEN'S COUNCIL**

P. O. Box 1365,
Eastlawn, Pascagoula

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C White City - Pascagoula

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PASCAGOULA CHRONICLE-STAR
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File 105-34237

Whose Internal Security?

For many months there has been an organized conspiracy in the South to overthrow the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. The White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and their fellow-travelers have used violence and terror in a palpable effort to promote lawlessness. If there is real excuse for the existence of a body known as the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, surely this crusade of lawlessness would appear to warrant exploration.

Now comes the news that the subcommittee is at last turning its eyes Southward, but its vision will remain as limited as before:

MEMPHIS, Oct. 25 (UP)—Communist activities in Tennessee, Kentucky and surrounding areas will be investigated by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee when that group opens hearings here Monday.

Lest we forget, the chairman of the subcommittee is James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who views the Supreme Court as a Communist front organization.

This could be a truly dreary show. But the show will go on as long as the Democrats continue to let Eastland retain his role as guardian of "internal security."

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. POST

DATED 10/27/57

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

RE: RACIAL SITUATIONS

BUFILE -

EDITORIAL

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Lies, Lies, Lies...

A Pittsburgh Courier item from McComb, Miss., last week quotes Judge Thomas P. Brady (father of the White Citizens Councils) describing the four greatest lies:

"That all men are created equal; that segregation is un-Christian; that there are no racial differences beyond colors of skin and other minor factors, and that segregation laws make second class citizens."

Judge Brady sits in Brookhaven County Court and is the author of the White Citizens Council "bible," a pamphlet titled "Black Monday," referring to Monday, May 17, 1954, the date of the Supreme Court's ruling against segregated public schools.

C. E. *[Signature]*

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(SEGREGATION)

ATLANTA--REPRESENTATIVES FROM EIGHT SOUTHERN STATES MET IN CLOSED SESSION TODAY IN AN EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE CITIZENS COUNCIL-STATE'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT ON A REGIONAL BASIS.

THE SEGREGATION LEADERS MET FOR TWO HOURS LAST NIGHT WITH GEORGIA GOV. MARVIN GRIFFIN, BUT THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE ANNOUNCEMENT OF WHAT THE PARLEY ACCOMPLISHED.

IN ADDITION TO GEORGIA, THE STATES REPRESENTED ARE ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, LOUISIANA, TEXAS, SOUTH CAROLINA, MISSISSIPPI AND FLORIDA. ROY HARRIS, NEW PRESIDENT OF THE STATE'S RIGHTS COUNCIL OF GEORGIA, SAID THE MEETING WAS CALLED FOR AN "EXCHANGE OF IDEAS" CONCERNING FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS AND THE RACE RELATIONS PROBLEM.

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL IS A COUNTERPART OF WHAT IN OTHER SOUTHERN STATES IS CALLED THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL. ALL ARE DEDICATED TO MAINTAINING SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH.

PRIOR TO LAST NIGHT'S CLOSED SESSION GRIFFIN TOLD NEWSMEN THE GROUP HOPES TO ORGANIZE A REGIONWIDE GROUP INCLUDING "EVERY PERSON WHO IS INTERESTED IN CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT."

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CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATE RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

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CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

UP74

(SEGREGATION)

ATLANTA--DELEGATES TO AN EIGHT-STATE MEETING OF CITIZENS COUNCIL AND STATES RIGHTS LEADERS AGREED TODAY THEY WOULD "WELCOME" AN INVESTIGATION OF THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES, ONE OF THOSE ATTENDING THE CLOSED SESSION SAID.

ROY V. HARRIS, AGUSTA, GA., POLITICAL LEADER AND ONE OF THE ORGANIZERS AND CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE GEORGIA STATES RIGHTS COUNCIL, SAID IT WAS AGREED "WE WOULD WELCOME AN INVESTIGATION AT ANY TIME."

HARRIS SAID DELEGATES ALSO:

--DECIDED THE SELECTION OF WILLIAM P. ROGERS TO SUCCEED ATTORNEY GENERAL HERBERT BROWNELL HAS "NO CHANGE FOR THE BETTER."

--"SWAPPED IDEAS ON HOW TO GET RID OF THE SUPREME COURT."

--TALKED "WITH MUCH INTEREST" ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS IN LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

--FELT THAT A SOUTHWIDE STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENT PROBABLY WOULD NOT BE FORMED BUT OCCASIONAL REGIONAL MEETINGS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE HELD.

10/26--TS118P

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
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 Mr. Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

CITIZENS COUNCILS AND STATES RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

UP152

(SEGREGATIONISTS)
 ATLANTA.--SEGREGATION LEADERS FROM NINE DEEP SOUTH STATES TODAY PROPOSED REVAMPING VOTING LAWS TO PROTECT LOCAL OFFICIALS FROM "NAACP HARRASSEMENT" BACKED BY THE FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION.
 STATE SEN. WILLIAM N. RAINACH OF LOUISIANA SAID THESE LAWS IN SOME SOUTHERN STATES MUST BE "STRENGTHENED AND ENLARGED" TO SAFEGUARD REGISTRATION OFFICIALS FROM CHARGES OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAW VIOLATIONS.
 RAINACH ALSO ANNOUNCED THE GROUP WILL CAMPAIGN FOR A "FAIR" PRESENTATION OF THE SOUTH'S SIDE OF THE SEGREGATION CONTROVERSY TO THE NATION BY THE PRESS AND TELEVISION NETWORK, BY DEMANDING "EQUAL TIME."

10/25--FP821P

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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**Javits Wants Probe
 Of Citizens' Councils**
 NEW YORK, Oc. 21 (AP)—Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) says he will ask the Senate to investigate the White Citizens' Councils. Javits said yesterday a special Senate Committee should determine whether the Councils—organized in Southern states—harbor subversive elements. Javits spoke at a conference of the metropolitan council of B'Nai B'Rith, Jewish service organization.

Handwritten signature: Boardman

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 141 OCT 23 1957

Wash. Post and Times Herald B-10
 Wash. News _____
 Wash. Star _____
 N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
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 N. Y. Mirror _____
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 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

Date 10-22-57

F103
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White-Councils Probe To Be Asked by Javits

By Paul Tobenkin
 Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R., N. Y., said yesterday he will ask the Senate to appoint a special committee to investigate the White Citizens Councils to determine whether they harbor subversive elements and, if so, to formulate proper corrective action.

The Order

In a speech to 1,000 persons at a luncheon session of the thirteenth annual all-day conference of the metropolitan council of B'nai B'rith, Jewish service organization, at the Sheraton-Astor, Sen. Javits suggested that the criteria established in President Eisen-

hower's executive order of April 27, 1953, as a guide for the operation of Federal security programs, might apply.

The section of that administrative order permits dismissal by the Federal government of individuals who are members of or associated with a group which is "totalitarian, fascist, Communist or subversive, or which has adopted, or shows, a policy of advocating the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States."

Sen. Javits said this language "might well include those who would incite to violence against the law of the land on integra-

tion in the public schools."

The violence and last-ditch opposition which have accompanied efforts to enforce the law against segregation in the public schools, he said, have "harmed our country at home and abroad."

"Threat to Security"

"All these developments," he said, "must be seen in the light of the threat to our security, to peace, and to our free world leadership. There is time and means to make necessary corrections, but these must be preceded by the realization of past errors and the determination to correct them."

Sen. Javits warned against unwise cutting of the Federal budget, particularly in the area of defense expenditures. He said that in the light of the Russian earth satellite, the United States and its allies, "must, and I believe will, embark on a crash program in the fields of missiles and rocketry."

NOT RECORDED

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Date OCT 21 1957

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EX-105

Javits to Ask Councils Probe

NEW YORK, Oct. 21 (AP).—Senator Javits, Republican of New York, says he will ask the Senate to investigate the White Citizens' Councils.

He said yesterday a special Senate committee should determine whether the councils—organized in Southern States—harbor subversive elements.

Senator Javits spoke at a conference of the metropolitan council of B'nai B'rith, Jewish service organization.

He called the councils "the principal organized opposition" to the Federal responsibility to enforce equal opportunities for education in public schools.

The Nation's prestige, he said, has suffered because of a failure to achieve racial integration in public schools in the South.

The Senator suggested that the criteria established in President Eisenhower's executive order of April 27, 1953, as a guide for the operation of Federal security programs might apply.

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N. Y. Daily News _____
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New Leader _____

Date OCT 21 1957

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File 105-34237-

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70 OCT 22 1957

Original Concerns And States Rights movements

Horizon

P. L. Prattis

Roy V. Harris

UNLESS the secret is locked in FBI files, I think the public generally (even the Negro public) has overlooked the significance of the probable role the astute lawyer, banker, publisher and politician, Roy V. Harris, is playing in the segregation versus integration battle. This role was first pinpointed by our correspondent, Trezzvant W. Anderson, in Georgia in June.



Mr. Prattis

Mr. Anderson spent the better part of a day riding around with Mr. Harris in the latter's car in Augusta. Mr. Harris was at pains to explain three aspects of his various endeavors: (1) to help and befriend Negroes; (2) to destroy the NAACP; (3) to oppose integration.

AFTER DESCRIBING Gov. Griffin's bitter opposition to public school integration, Mr. Harris told Mr. Anderson: "He's going to use the State Highway Patrol, the National Guard and every able-bodied white man in Georgia, if necessary, to guard the schoolhouses. Rules may be okay, but how will they look up against those tanks, rifles and machine guns."

Wm. O. ...

Pittsburgh, Pa.
 PRESS _____
 SUN-TELEGRAPH _____
 POST-GAZETTE _____
 COURIER ✓ _____

Date 10-19-57
 Edition New York
 Page 9
 Column 1
 Author of Article _____
P. L. Prattis
 Editor (on editorials) _____

Title of Case _____

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 64 NOV 7 1957

There are many leaders in the pro-segregation fight. One is ~~John B. Kasper~~. Another is ~~Asa Carter~~ of the Northern Alabama White Citizens Council. Another is ~~David L. Lawrence~~, editor of U. S. News and World Report. Another is ~~Roy V. Harris~~. Of these four, the two most dangerous (because they're smart) are Lawrence and Harris. One, Lawrence, is a Northerner, born in Philadelphia. Harris is a Georgian.

Harris is the master strategist. He told Mr. Anderson of the Georgia plan in June. In August, he and Governor Griffin went to Little Rock to visit with Gov. Orval E. Faubus. The Courier has shown them having breakfast together. There are repeated reports that Faubus was compelled to do the bidding of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas; in fact, he is a member. The Georgia plan was made to order for him.

HE HAS BEEN reluctant to talk about his meeting with Griffin and Harris. It is noteworthy, however, that after Federal troops had moved in and Southern Governors arranged a White House meeting, Griffin didn't go although he was appointed to the committee.

The excuse given was that the President wanted to discuss the entire range of segregation whereas the Governors had been commissioned only to discuss the presence of Federal troops in Little Rock. Afterwards, it was clear that that is all they did discuss.

But Griffin ducked. And behind Griffin is Herman Talmadge, U. S. Senator, and behind them both is the strategist for segregationists, Roy V. Harris. He must be watched.

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BAUMGARDNER

10/24

(NAACP)

CHICAGO--SOUTHERN WHITE CITIZEN'S COUNCILS ARE STIRRING UP RACIAL TROUBLE IN THE NORTH, THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAS CHARGED.

ROY WILKINS SAID THE SOUTHERN GROUPS ARE STARTING TROUBLE IN THE NORTH TO "TAKE THE HEAT OFF" THE SOUTH'S REACTION TO RACIAL INTEGRATION IN ITS SCHOOLS.

WILKINS, SPEAKING YESTERDAY TO 700 PERSONS IN THE KICKOFF OF A CHICAGO NAACP MEMBERSHIP DRIVE, ACCUSED GOV. ORVAL E. FAUBUS OF ARKANSAS OF COMMITTING "THE SIN OF AROUSING HATRED IN THE HEARTS OF AMERICA'S YOUTH."

THE NAACP SECRETARY ALSO PREDICTED SOUTHERN NEGROES MIGRATING TO THE NORTH WOULD FORM A VOTING BLOC WITH "POTENTIAL CONTROL OF 61 SEATS IN CONGRESS."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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105-134137

WCC Donations 'Dropping Off'?

JACKSON, Miss.—Donations to the "education fund" of the White Citizens Councils have "dropped off sharply," complained the Citizens Council, official newspaper of the pro-segregation organization. The sheet said, "Overconfidence and a lessening of effort at this time would be folly."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PRESS

SUN-TELEGRAPH

POST-GAZETTE

COURIER ✓

Date 10-5-57

Edition New York

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Author of Article _____

Editor (on editorials) _____

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141 OCT 13 1957

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Coleman, Councils Critical

By UNITED PRESS

The White Citizens Councils attacked the new civil rights measure today, warning that its passage by Congress marked the beginning of a second Reconstruction era for the South.

The councils, in a statement representing groups in nine southern states, saw in the measure the prospects for "civil strife and chaos."

In other early reaction to the legislation, Steve Knight, one of the few Republicans to be elected to local public office in the Deep South, resigned from the party because he "cannot stand" his party's position on the bill.

Knight, elected to the Muscogee County, Ga., commission, said the bill was "based on insincerity by its sponsors and is designed to cause not progress for the Negro race but merely additional power for the federal government and for some politicians in the North."

In Mississippi, Gov. J.P. Coleman said he may request that voter registration henceforth be placed in the hands of a three-member county commission rather than with registrars. This would require a change in the state's Constitution.

Studies Circumvention

Coleman also announced he will call a conference of 82 lawyers—one from each court district—to go over the new law and determine how it can be circumvented. The attorneys then will go home and conduct mass meetings to build up "mass resistance" to the measure, Coleman said.

The Mississippi governor said the measure "throws the full weight of Herbert Brownell and the attorney general's office" against the rights of the states to conduct their own elections.

"The bill is a lot more serious

See Coleman on Page 8A

COLEMAN

Continued From Page 1A
than some people believe," Coleman said.

By far the strongest reaction to passage of the civil rights bill came from the Citizens Council which had a statement ready for release as soon as the legislation was approved.

South United

"We may expect to see state officials and private citizens subjected to every kind of harassment," the statement said. "We may expect to see people suffer for their beliefs; we may expect to see political prisoners in our time..."

One thing we will see, as certainly as tomorrow's sun, and that is millions of white southerners united with a fierce determination to protect their families and their freedoms at all costs.

"Reconstruction II has now been officially declared upon the former Confederate states by the adoption of the first force bill since Reconstruction I of the 1870s."

The councils promised to fight the measure "with every facility at our command...We will not be intimidated, nor will we be swayed from our purpose by any federal civil rights bureau, attorney general or the like."

Citizen Councils

STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
8/30/57
Page 1 Col. 8

C.F. Williams

NOT RECORDED
141 SEP 30 1957

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105-34837

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60 SEP 30 1957

Council Group Blasts Passage Of CR Bill

By TIM PARKER
The Associated Press

A nine-state citizens council group Thursday night denounced the civil rights law passed by Congress as "a force bill, coercive and vicious."

The citizens council statement said passage of "the 1957 Force Bill" means: "we may expect to see people suffer for their beliefs, as indeed some have suffered already."

"We may expect to see political prisoners in our time."

"We may see civil strife and chaos."

"One thing we will see as certainly as tomorrow's sun, and that is millions of white southerners united with a fierce determination to protect their families and their freedoms at all costs."

The councils, sometimes called the white citizens councils, say their purpose is to maintain separation of the races by all legal means. Organized principally in South, they have sometimes been accused of violence and of economic pressure against Negroes.

SIMMONS RELEASES

This statement on the civil rights bill was given out by W. J. Simmons, editor of the "Citizens Council," official paper of the Citizens Councils of America, which claims members in most states.

"Reconstruction II has now officially been declared upon the former Confederate states by the

adoption of the first force bill since Reconstruction I of the 1870s," the statement began.

"The people of the South should have no illusions of what is in store for them. Despite pious words and holier-than-thou phrases, despite the fact that a few of the most insulting features of the original House bill have been removed in the Senate, the deliberately mis-named civil rights bill is a force bill, coercive and vicious."

The statement said the bill "sets up a bureaucracy in the Department of Justice with power to set aside state election laws and procedures." The civil rights commission, which the measure provides for, will be "a kind of roving grand jury" which can write its own rules "and is required to give witnesses no constitutional safeguards whatsoever," the councils charged.

URGES ORGANIZATION

The councils urged the people to "organize to protect" the "vital principals" of states rights and "racial integrity."

Simmons said the nine names appearing on the three-page mimeographed statement are those of members of the editorial board of the monthly newspaper he edits.

The names: Sam M. Engelhardt Jr., executive secretary, Citizens Council of Alabama; Robert E. Brown, director, Citizens Councils of Alabama.

Continued on Page 2

Continued from Page 1

Kansas; Dr. George A. Downs, executive secretary, Citizens Councils of Florida; R. Carter Pittman, president, States Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.; W. M. Rainach, president, Citizens Councils of Louisiana, Inc.; Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary, Citizens Councils of Mississippi; T. D. Keels, chairman, Citizens Councils of South Carolina; Richard Burrow Jr., advisory board, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government; and Dr. B. E. Masters, president, Citizens Councils of Texas.

Full text of the Citizens' Council statement follows:

"Reconstruction II has now been officially declared upon the former Confederate states by the

tion of the first force bill since Reconstruction I of the 1870's.

"The people of the South should have no illusions of what is in store for them. Despite pious words and holier-than-thou phrases, despite the fact that a few of the most insulting features of the original House Bill have been removed in the Senate, the deliberately mis-named Civil Rights bill is a force bill, coercive and vicious."

"This bill is the supreme attempt of the left-wing pressure groups to bring the tyranny of big government crashing down upon the heads of patriotic Americans who happen to disagree with their politics and sociology."

"The 1957 Force Bill sets up a bureaucracy in the Department of Justice with power to set aside state election laws and procedures. It is thought that this bureaucracy would include at least some 200 to 300 lawyers—there is actually no limit on their number—whose success would depend upon their ability to stir up strife and litigation. These people will undoubtedly be drawn from the very groups promoting the Force Bill."

"In addition to this horde of lawyers, a 'Civil Rights' Commission is created, to be a kind of roving grand-jury. Incredibly, this 'Civil Rights' Commission is permitted by the Bill to write its own rules of procedure and is required to give witnesses no constitutional safeguards whatsoever. In a saner day, the clear unconstitutionality of such tyrannical power would have in itself assured a Supreme Court ruling setting it aside. But today the cliché, 'The Constitution is what the Supreme Court says it is' has replaced our written Constitution."

"Furthermore, the activities of this Star Chamber commission are not restricted to 'voting rights', as the voting privilege has so skillfully been mis-named by left-wing propagandists. It may literally roam the universe."

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
8/30/57
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CR MATTERS

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80 SEP 30 1957

"Unless they bend the knee, we may expect to see state officials and private citizens subjected to every kind of harassment this inter-racial rabble can devise."

"We may expect to see people suffer for their beliefs, as indeed some have suffered already."

"We may expect to see political prisoners in our time."

"We may see civil strife and chaos."

"One thing we will see, as certainly as tomorrow's sun, and that is millions of white Southerners united with a fierce determination to protect their families and their freedoms at all costs."

"As certainly as sanity returned in national affairs following the excesses and evils of Reconstruction I, so will it return eventually after Reconstruction II. But let us never forget—first, our forefathers turned the tide themselves in their day—it is our clear duty to do no less."

"We speak now only for ourselves, but we believe we voice the sentiments of millions of Americans from every section who will not bow to tyranny in any form. We take our stand on these principles:

"1. States Rights."

"2. Racial Integrity."

"We have urged the people to organize to protect these vital principles on which our country has grown great. We will continue to labor toward that end with every facility at our command. We will not be intimidated, nor will we be swayed from our purpose, by any federal "civil rights" bureau, attorney general, or the like."

"These people are bitterly opposed to the principles which are dearer to us than life. We tell them now exactly where we stand, and what we intend to do."

"If this be contempt, then by the eternal they may make the most of it."

Approximately two minutes of this statement, in interview form, is scheduled on the "Today" program over Channel 3, 7 to 8 a.m., Friday.

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Bill to Unite South, Councils Assert

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 30 (AP).—Citizens Councils leaders from nine States say the civil rights bill passed by Congress last night will lead to "millions of white Southerners united with a fierce determination to protect their families and their freedoms at all costs."

The group denounced the bill as coercive and vicious.

The councils say their purpose is to maintain race separation by all legal means. They are organized principally in the South and have sometimes been accused of violence and of economic pressure against Negroes.

"The people of the South should have no illusions of what is in store for them," the statement said. "Despite pious words and holier-than-thou phrases, despite the fact that a few of the most insulting features of the original House bill have been removed in the Senate, the deliberately misnamed civil rights bill is a force bill, coercive and vicious."

Baumgardner

File 105-34737

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 N. Y. Mirror _____
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 Daily Worker _____
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____
 Date AUG 30 1957

NOT RECORDED
 141 SEP 3 1957

33 *ELH*
 63 SEP 4 1957

Miss Gandy

'Our Way Of Life'

—Sez Dixie:

COLLINS, Miss. — The Brookhaven County Citizens Council has issued a special invitation to "every white person" in the county to hear Judge Tom F. Brady, "outstanding jurist, and recognized authority on the consequences of integration," also billed as Citizens Council leader of Brookhaven, speak at the courthouse Tuesday, Aug. 23, at 8 P. M.

U. S. Supreme Court school decisions are notwithstanding.

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POST-GAZETTE
COURIER
Date 8/3/57
Edition New York
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Author of Article
~~Raymond J. ...~~
Editor (on editoria
Title of Case

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141 AUG 28 1957.

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White Citizens Councils

Just Like the Nazis!

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COURIER-----
Date-----7-27-57
Edition-----New York
Page-----4
Column-----2
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Editor (on editorials)-----
Title of Case-----

105-34037-A
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126 AUG 14 1957

71 AUG 15 1957 F-340

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

TOLEDO, Ohio—There is a striking similarity between the White Citizens Councils of the South today and the Nazi organizations which paved the way for the rise of Hitler in Germany, Dr. James Bond, chief psychologist at Toledo State Hospital, declared here.

Dr. Bond was one of the speakers at the two-week Inter-group Relations Workshop at the University of Toledo.

Referring to his promise that hate groups are dictator-bent, Dr. Bond said that in both instances—the Citizens Councils and Nazi movement—racial and religious prejudice developed among middle-class segments who felt that their own “concepts of self” were threatened by the changing times.

DR. BOND declared that had there been more forthright governmental action in enforcing the Supreme Court’s de-

cision banning public school segregation the hate groups would not have been able to flourish in the South.

They would have accepted positive governmental action, he said, because the whole life of Southerners is built around imposed authority.

The lack of fortitude on the part of the Government, he continued, gave anti-Negro elements an opportunity to organize and direct the mutual prejudice against what they considered the common enemy.

ANOTHER SPEAKER, June Macklin, a noted anthropologist, said that intelligence tests were not the true gauge of group ability.

She said the questions are apt to be drawn in terms familiar to the typical, middle-class, white, urban, Northern child, but unfamiliar to other children.

As a result, she said, urban white children score better on tests than white children from rural areas, and Northern Negro children score better than white children educated in the South.

A THIRD SPEAKER, Dr. Morton J. Sobel, Detroit, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, said that much progress has been made in the last 25 years against racial prejudice, but warned that much remains to be done.

He listed several fields in which work should be done to eliminate racial and religious bias:

Legislation, social action, employment, housing, education and resorts.

Americans must learn that discrimination in any form is un-American, he said.

Target: 'Gradual Integrators' At Council Meeting

"The gradual integrators are our most dangerous enemies," declared Ross R. Barnett, Jackson attorney, to the large audience at the Lauderdale County Citizen's Council meeting at the county courthouse.

"The gradual integrators are what we should call 'turncoat integrators'; just plain unadulterated carpetbaggers and scallawags."

President Henry O'Dom of the local Council presided and A. S. Rozeman, attorney, introduced the speaker.

"There are too many moderates

(Continued on Page Two)

(Continued From Page One)

or middle-of-the-road people. What we need is positive action and the No. 1 thing is more and greater Citizens Councils," declared Barnett.

"I believe that the Good Lord was the original Segregationist. He placed the black race in that huge continent of Africa and segregat-

ed it from other races by oceans of water to the west, south and east and by the vast stretches of the almost impassable Sahara desert to the north.

"Therefore, He put the black man in Africa, the Red man in Asia and the White man in Europe.

"In my humble way of thinking, integration will ultimately ruin any civilization.

"I believe that the white man was made white because the Good Lord wanted him white and wanted to keep him white; that He made the black man black because in His Divine wisdom, He wanted him black and wanted to keep him black.

Points To Bible

The Scriptures teach and admonish self-preservation and that if any man does not protect his home and does not provide for his own, he has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel.

"We should be brought to the stern realization that the hour has come when we, as defenders of our homes and defenders of every-

fathers and mothers, should stand up boldly like Joshua of old. We should be counted and declare unto indifferent people and to the people who have the spirit of defeatism, that they should stand up and be counted and help us to maintain and perpetuate our traditions and way of life.

"This is not the first time that we have faced a crisis of this kind. Carpetbaggers attempted to force integration nearly 100 years ago. I have heard my father, who was a Confederate veteran, tell about how the carpetbaggers drove Gov. Humphrey of Mississippi out of the capitol at Jackson at the point of bayonets and how they drove his family out of the governor's mansion.

Says Finds Way Out

"But our fathers found a way out when faced with similar situations. They had great courage and drove the carpetbaggers out of the capitol in 1875.

"If you and I and all other Mississippians would live up to the teachings and admonitions of these patriots whose blood courses in our veins, we will not be blackmailed into accepting forced integration lying down.

"We will not be blackmailed into selling our heritage and our traditions for a mess of integration pottage. There are ways to avoid being forced to drink this bitter hemlock poison from the cup of integration.

"I declare to you that we will not be driven like dumb brutes to integration, but we will fight to a finish the Communistic, subversive NAACP clique with every moral and legitimate means at our command.

To Continue Efforts

"If the leaders of the NAACP continue to defy us, we should let them know once and for all that we are fighting this game for keeps and we will not stop fighting until we have completely crushed this Communistic NAACP group.

"I want you to know that I am not advocating violence, not at all, because I believe we can win without violence at the bar of public opinion."

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THE MERIDIAN STAR
MERIDIAN, MISS.
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Mississippi Citizens of Mississippi

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Racist Penetration in Southern Locals Cited

ATLANTIC CITY, May 13—A survey of 100 local unions in the South showed "considerable support for the White Citizens Councils," the Jewish Labor Committee disclosed here yesterday. The committee ended its annual conference of representatives of an estimated 500,000 Jewish workers in U. S. labor unions.

The survey of locals selected as "representative" of union labor in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Louisiana and Mississippi was made by the JCL. Emanuel Muravchik, director of the JCL's anti-discrimination division, said the survey showed that "the overwhelming majority of the white union members in the South" disagree with the official policy of their unions for desegregation. He added, however, that their loyalty continues as affiliates of the international unions.

He also noted that there are 2,500 local unions in the South. The survey also showed that de-

spite the segregation in many industries and in southern organizations other than unions, two thirds of the union locals are bi-racial. One fourth of the locals were found with at least one Negro officer and about half the locals had at least one Negro shop steward.

The report warned that so far an estimated 50 locals have reported desegregation an issue in their ranks, but that racism can be the basis of serious disrupting of labor. Muravchik called for a program of assistance to union leaders in the south in coping with racial conflicts.

Among the resolutions passed was one calling on the President to "go to the people with a radio and TV appeal" for passage for civil rights legislation.

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Investigate Racist WCC, UAW Asks

ATLANTIC CITY.—The UAW convention called upon President Eisenhower and the Department of Justice to launch an immediate full-scale investigation of the White Citizens Councils. They asked the investigation be pinpointed in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, or anywhere else they may be created.

They also asked the president to insist that all public housing projects in communities be occupied on a completely non-segregated basis.

Also the convention rededicated itself to enactment of federal legislation abolishing the polltax, for enactment of a federal anti-lynching law and establishment of a civil rights commission in the Department of Justice to police violations of civil rights.

The convention also instructed every local union, its officers, bargaining and fair practices committees to intensify their efforts to reduce hiring gate discrimination, discrimination wherever it exists.

Also that every local union shall include the UAW Model Anti-Discrimination clause in its contracts.

The convention also reaffirmed its wholehearted support to the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in schools.

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Winchell Bombards KKK White Councils, 'Mobocrats'

EDITOR'S NOTE: Walter Winchell, famous columnist for the New York Daily Mirror and an uncompromising champion of civil rights, vividly set forth in a recent column the alarming breakdown of law and order in many areas of the South where Negroes are targets of hate groups inflamed over integration. In this column reprinted by permission of the New York Daily Mirror, Mr. Winchell strongly urges that Federal action be taken to protect the rights of everyone in the South.

To Uncle Sam From a Nephew

ON DEC. 5, the Feds swooped down into Clinton, Tenn., and arrested 16 yellow members of the White Citizen Councils. Twenty-four hours before the arrests, a mob of bigoted bullies had mauled a white clergyman for escorting some Negro teen-agers to public school—after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the kids had a right to go there . . . Though now on bail, putting these law-breakers behind bars is long overdue. Now, Mr. Brownell, you ought to put the whole damb organization where it belongs—alongside the name of the KKK on your U.S. Attorney General's subversive list . . . This will mean that no member of the White Citizen Councils can remain on the Federal Government payroll in any capacity whatsoever.

FOUR YEARS AGO, President Ike directed the Justice Department to list every organization found to be "totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive." He said ditto about outfits advocating "force or violence" to deny others their rights under the U.S. Constitution . . . Are the White Citizen mobsters eligible for the Government's roster of rotters? Let's look:

ON DEC. 7, '54, the Marengo County White Citizen Councils in Alabama warned that blood would be spilled on the campus if Negroes tried to enter white schools . . . Blood was spilled . . . On May 9, '55, Clergyman G. W. Lee of Belzoni, Miss., was shot while driving his car. Rev. Lee died for urging Negro voters to register at election time—despite warnings from the White Citizen Councils . . . In Belzoni, too, Gus Courts became active in inter-racial work. Citizen Councils' trigger men told him to lay off. He refused. On Nov. 27, '55, Gus Courts was critically wounded.

LAST FEBRUARY, race-rioters led by Council crumbs drove Autherine Lucy from the campus of Alabama University. Four days later, the W.C. boys in Montgomery passed out leaflets which read: "When in the course of human events it becomes necessary to abolish the Negro race, proper methods should be used. Among them are guns, bows and arrows, slingshots and knives. We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all whites are created with certain rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of dead niggers."

IN MARCH, the leading louse of the White Citizen Councils, Asa Carter, published an unsigned article in his hate rag calling his cruel cowards to action: "Our solutions must be to . . . force in accounting now . . . to serve notice we are not playing for peace in our time . . . that we will fight it out for our children rather than pass the fight to them . . . We intend to fight" . . . On April 10, 150 W.C.'ers, including some of Carter's own boys, attacked Nat King Cole in Birmingham, Ala.

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Pittsburgh, Pa.
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IN JUNE, 1956, the Seaboard Citizen Councils was formed in Washington, D. C., by the notorious John Kasper, one of the top commissars and troublemakers in the maggoty movement. Kasper mailed out a sheet called "Virginians on Guard" which reads like a page out of Hitler—calling upon Council members to "hang nine Supreme Court Swine, Destroy Reds (All Muscovite Savages), Roosevelt Dupes, and Death to Userers." The dirty sheet also contains news clips and press photos showing crosses burning (and suggesting more?) before the homes of Chief Justice Warren, ex-Senator Lehman and Justice Frankfurter.

EVEN WHILE OUT ON bail (on appeal from a one-year contempt rap), Kasper continues his racist operations. Recently he issued a call to all white Southerners to refuse to obey Federal Government orders on segregation. He demanded that local "public officials arrest any Federal judge or FBI agent who interferes" . . . While the U.S. Attorney's office makes a distinction between KKK outfits and White Citizen Councils, Kasper does not. He regularly announces speaking engagements before both groups.

ON AUG. 24, this same John Kasper interrupted a meeting of the Virginia Council on Human Relations to shriek: "We in the Citizens Councils have declared war on you. We are going to run you out of town" . . . Three weeks later, free on bail for causing a riot, Kasper screamed to a howling mob of his fans that he wanted "every type of resistance" against letting Americans of all races go to school together.

TO SUM UP: Their ugly record shows that the White Citizen Councils have adopted a policy of advocating or approving force or violence to deny others their Constitutional rights. It shows that they have created a climate of fear in many Southern communities and have promoted group hatred and group violence. In short, it shows they are anti-American and subversive.

THE WHITE CITIZEN Councils brag they have better than a million members . . . That's more than the Commies or the Nazis started out with in any country . . . The Council mobs know exactly what they want and precisely down what gutter they are going. Before dictators can seize power, they first must turn group against group, race against race, class against class. It's in the history books that way . . . But the White Citizen Councils' bully boys don't read history—because they can't read. Their subversive tactics come naturally!

RECENTLY, LOUISIANA Congressman Overton Brooks demanded that you, Mr. Brownell, order the FBI to halt its probe of White Citizen Council members in the northern part of his state. He complained that J. Edgar's sleuths were investigating "sheriffs, state legislators, district attorneys and many others." Please, please, Mr. Attorney General, don't stop the FBI experts in the wonderful performance of their sworn duty!!!

CONGRESSMAN BROOKS insists that "his section of the nation" be treated "like the co-equal state that we are." Your answer ought to be, that you will—as soon as his state begins to treat its Negroes like the co-equal citizens that they are . . . And here's how you can make them do it:

The Commies and their fronters, the Silver Shirts and the Kookoo Kluxers, too, are on your subversive list. The White Citizen Councils belong there and the time has come for you to put them there. One of the 16 arrested Clinton bigots, W. H. Till, local W. C. Council chief, is an Oak Ridge atomic plant worker with the Government's highest security rating. If the W.C. boys have more than a million members, it's an odds-on bet that hundreds of other Tills are getting their weekly paychecks from all kinds of Federal Government jobs. Whyinhell should the American taxpayer support these dirty (deleted by editor)? . . . You have already shown the way with the Clinton cliff dwellers. What are you waiting for???

WINCHELL PRAISE

As a 19-year-old Negro girl may
I offer sincere praise for the Wal-



Winchell

ter Winchell
column on
"The White
Citizens Coun-
cil." We Ne-
groes are hu-
man—we
breathe, talk
and walk. It
seems that to
deserve any
sort of decent
recognition as
human beings,
let alone citi-
zens, we have
to perform

some extraordinary feat. America
is our home; religion our only
solace. We thank God for the
support of men like Walter Win-
chell.

—Dorothy Cobb, N. Y. C.

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DIXIE DYNAMITE:

Keep the Hate

Fires Burning

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RE: RACIAL SITUATIONS

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A Clinton, Tenn., Mob in Action
What they need is to stir up trouble

By STAN OPOTOWSKY

Article XII

"The fight now," says Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council, "is to get the forum open."

"Things are such now that even the moderates—who prefer segregation, but realize there are moral and civil rights issues, too—are silenced. No one dares speak."

That's the way the White Citizens Councils and their second-class cousins, the Ku Klux Klan, want things. They don't dare let the forum open.

Their constant fear is in the other direction. They fear that the issue might cool off, that the people might become weary and resigned to the inevitability of integration. Their job today is to keep the issue hot.

The news teletypes tick off their efforts almost daily. The work of the Councils is crude and obvious, but

Last of a Series

the people with whom they deal either don't see through the sham, or don't try.

Louisville was celebrated nationally for its smooth integration of public schools in the very teeth of riotous objections. The townspeople survived the first jolt, and it appeared that here, at last, was a Southern city taking integration in its stride.

But the White Citizens Council did not roll over dead. Unable to find trouble at home, it imported trouble. Up popped a 17-year-old self-styled segregationist, imported from Detroit, who tried to force his way into a Louisville high school.

Authorities checked and found he had been set up in an apartment owned by Millard Lee Grubbs, head of the Kentucky White Citizens Councils and one of the chief agitators of the mob violence at Sturgis and Clay, Ky., last fall.

They refused the boy admission on the grounds that he was a non-resident. But he is persisting, and sooner or later he must be admitted and reckoned with. Grubbs, who touches all rabble-rousing bases, denied he brought the boy to Louisville, but said:

"I am supporting him as I would support anyone else in a fight against a gang of Communists."

THIS GENERATING OF TROUBLE IS CONTINUING in Montgomery and Tallahassee, where the fight against integration on public buses is hottest.

At first the whites of Montgomery accepted bus integration. They were weary of the boycott, and fearful that it would spread. For two days they rode beside Negroes on the buses with scant objection.

But the Citizens Council could not accept this. They are political. They must go to the polls in 1958 and say "we saved you from integration." They needed trouble. Soon the shotguns were popping, and, on cue, the City Commission—all Council members—cut off the bus service in the interest of public safety.

It was the same in Tallahassee. On a recent Friday night a Council meeting warned there would be trouble over the buses. Saturday morning, lo and behold, there was trouble—shotgun blasts and the stoning of a Negro minister's home. Tuesday, right on schedule, the Governor suspended bus service.

The Klan eyes all of this hungrily. It was in. It



Integration on Montgomery, Ala., Bus
But the White Councils couldn't accept it

has not progressed into the big time, however. Southerners who condone every move of the White Citizens Council will condemn the Klan because of its bad odor.

The KKK tried to foment trouble in Montgomery before the Council could decide what to do. On the very night that the Supreme Court sustained the Negroes in their fight against segregation, the Klan announced it was coming to town.

A caravan of automobiles crammed with Klansmen left Birmingham at 5 p.m. But it was headed off 46 miles short of Montgomery by two Montgomery Klansmen. After a 45-minute conference, the KKK caravan turned tail and returned to Birmingham.

The word was from the cops. They didn't want the KKK in town, and the hooded heroes didn't want to risk jail. Their courage in this fight to save white womanhood does have reasonable limits.

* * *

A WEEK LATER THE KLAN DID INVADE MONTGOMERY, from Atlanta where the brass operates. But it couldn't get the people worked up, and succeeded only in making a ludicrous spectacle of itself. Off-duty northern servicemen from the local Air Force base hooted in derision and Negroes chuckled on the streets as the hooded Klansmen wandered aimlessly about, waiting for the mob which never assembled.

This is the failure of the Klan. It is not the failure of the Councils.

Some in the South feel that they eventually must merge anyway. A Mississippi newspaperman who has covered the White Citizens Councils since their inception says:

"The real danger is that the prominent people are losing interest in the fad. The Council will soon be controlled by hoodlums."

Ace Carter, the Birmingham Council leader, already has moved in as an "advisor" to the Klan. John Kasper showed up in Montgomery this week to address both the Council and the Klan. The old Council idea of avoiding the Klan is waning.

The classic fight has been in Clinton. Here there is hope—and an absolute absence of hope.

There is hope in that principled people were willing to stand the gaff, and fight the lawlessness. Clinton leaders and the school faculty have gone through hell for their stand upon the law.

But there is great discouragement to be found in Clinton, too. For if the authorities and the town-leaders cannot stand off the professional racists and their rabble followers, who can?

* * *

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED IN A very limited way. The FBI now is swarming through the South with two interests: the Klan, and the drive to deprive the Negroes of their voting rights.

Those are the fields in which the Justice Dept. has ordered investigation. Otherwise: nothing. The Councils are unchecked and, even, uninvestigated.

The sudden arrest of 16 Council and Klan leaders in Clinton, Tenn., was dramatic. But now what?

Federal Judge Taylor had hoped for a quick trial—he said so in open court—to resolve the issue.

But the politically hep attorneys-general of several Southern states jumped in with delays, and now its doubtful if the trial will be held by mid-summer.

Furthermore, there's a serious legal question as to whether these people can be convicted in federal court. All they really did was participate in a mob. And don't they have freedom of assembly?

The great irony is that any attempts to halt these people from interfering with integration might indeed violate their civil rights.

The original Citizens Council idea was to use economic pressure, rather than violence, to whip the Negroes back into line. This has heaped tragic ruin on a few individuals. But working against a class, it is an utter failure.

For one thing, economic pressure turned out to be a two-edged sword. The Montgomery bus boycott proved that. While the politicians tried to whip the citizens of the town into an outraged frenzy, the merchants maintained a steadying influence.

They suffered nightmares of their stores becoming as empty as the ghost buses which prodded through the town with one and two passengers aboard.

These people are the real hope of the South. When they demand proper action, they can get it.

* * *

THE GREENVILLE, S. C., POLICE DEPARTMENT decided it wanted no part of the Klan. Greenville had its fill of racial violence with the sensational Willie Earl lynching in 1947. So the Klan, very active in the general area, was told it could not enter the city, it couldn't burn crosses because they were a fire hazard and it couldn't violate the state's anti-masking law (which is not enforced anywhere else in the state).

So there's no KKK in Greenville.

Says Detective Chief L. W. Henderson:

"We were able to do this only because we have an honest city government and an honest police department under civil service. You can keep the Klan out only if you keep politics out of it. We knew this was coming and we planned for it. We looked up the laws and were on solid legal ground when the Klan tried to move in. There was some opposition, sure, but I think most of the people are glad for what we did. There'll be no Klan here."

Attorney Leo Grant Jr., of Clinton, one of the civic leaders forced to beg for federal help to still the mobs, agrees that in the long run it must be cops like Greenville's Henderson, rather than Uncle Sam, who put down the agitators.

"We needed federal help—that was the only way at the moment," Grant said.

"But let's face it: a fist fight in Clinton is a fist fight, and we can't be screaming for the U. S. Army every time one breaks out over our integrated school. It's pushed off on Washington now. But eventually we'll have to do it ourselves."

* * *

THE CONTINUING DANGER OF THE SOUTHERN stand has even reached Wall St. The investment houses won't touch bond issues for any new segregated schools, not so much on moral grounds as on the grounds that such issues are "too risky." Hopewell, Va., did not receive one bid on a \$1,000,000 bond issue. South Norfolk, Va., did get one bid—but only one—on its issue, and that was rejected as unsuitable.

The politicians behind the Citizens Council need diversion from bad news like that. That cannot let the people wise up to the fact that they are being led in a disastrous direction. To fight realities, the Councils must muster up blood-and-guts issues that will fire up the passions of prejudice and hate.

Eventually integration will come.

But, as Father Fred Digby, head of New Orleans Catholic Charities, says:

"I'm confident of the future—but there's going to be hell to pay."

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 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Boardman _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
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 EX-126

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By STAN OPOTOWSKY

Article X

The Negro demanding his rights is unquestionably the No. 1 target of the White Citizens Councils. But there is increasing evidence that the Councils are marshaling their forces and techniques against a secondary target—labor unions.

Furthermore, the Councils are having astonishing success. They can disrupt organizing campaigns almost overnight. They can cause such internal dissension that unions become totally ineffective. They have even duped union members into voting for an anti-union state legislator.

And who fights this trend? Hardly anyone.

One union leader in the South said bitterly:

"I am frankly disappointed—even shocked—at our AFL-CIO leadership in Washington. There has been no direction, no leadership, in fighting the Councils, even though we know what they are doing to us.

"They don't give us a red light in fighting them. They just don't

give us a green light, either. They don't give us anything, except a few passages in a few speeches made up North every now and then. Why, I haven't even been asked for a report on Council anti-union activity in my area."

Yet the AFL-CIO hierarchy surely knows the way the Councils have undermined the union movement in the South.

How the Councils Used The Integration Scare

The classic case was at the Manhattan Raybestos plant in Charleston, S. C. The workers,

Negro and white, were enlisted 80 per cent in the rubber workers' union, and an NLRB election was called.

But the Citizens Council distributed a single piece of literature: it listed the names of the Negro union members who had signed a desegregation petition given the school board. "Do you want to belong to the same union as these Negroes who want their children in school with yours?" asked the WCC pamphlet.

The white workers decided they didn't. The union was snowed under in the NLRB election.

That didn't happen only in Charleston. The technique was

Continued on Page 37

Continued from Page 4

repeated successfully at Cherokee Textiles in Sevierville, Tenn., the Berea Rubber Co. at Berea, Ky., Model Mills in Jackson, Tenn., and Powermatic Tool Co. in Mt. Minnville, Tenn., to name a few.

The Council technique is most effective in organizing drives, and that is labor's big struggle in the South today. The fight is most bitter in textiles. Many plants moved South from New England to tap non-union labor, and a major battleground has formed.

The manager of one major mill in Virginia — a Northern-owned mill, incidentally — makes frequent speeches to the civic clubs in the area. His topic always is "Communism in the NAACP."

The Council atmosphere is such that even established unions are now seriously undermined. It has become almost impossible to process a Negro member's grievances, because the plant knows it can use the White Citizens Councils to forestall any work stoppage in support of the Negro.

There are numerous cases of union officials themselves using the always-tense Negro issue to advance their personal ambitions.

In Chattanooga, Tenn., a heavily unionized city, the school board first announced it would integrate in line with the Supreme Court decision. The city's Central Trade Union Council passed a resolution approving this announcement.

But then Arthur Canada moved in. He is head of the Printing Pressman's local. He also heads a White Citizens Council offshoot, the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation.

He innamed the members of the various locals to the extent that the Trade Union Council resented its support of the school board, and the school board, in turn, is backtracking on its integration plans.

Canada next tried to capitalize on his "leadership" by taking over the Tennessee Federation of Labor, but his racist campaign against the incumbent failed.

Some locals have been wrecked by the racist issue, however. At Nashville, the Victor Chemical Works was unionized for 15 years. It was a mixed local, white and Negro, and there was never trouble.

Suddenly the whites wanted to throw the Negroes out of the local.

"The idea must have come from the outside," an AFL-CIO official says. "It was so quick and so foreign to the past history of the local."

'We've Decided to Throw The Niggers Out . . .'

The international refused to let the local expel its Negro members. But the racketeer-ridden Operating Engineers moved in and raided the embattled local, and won an NLRB election. That was on Sept. 5.

The Operating Engineers now have gone four months without signing a company contract for their new local, but the dues are collected just the same.

The union members themselves seem perfect foils for the White Citizens Council technique, and the Negro issue seems a perfect

diversion from their own interests. They even sent a right-to-work man to the state legislature in Tennessee.

He is Benny Cash of Chattanooga, a man with a long anti-labor record who was pledged to a "right-to-work" bill. By raising the race issue, Cash won the election by a few thousand votes in a district which is heavily unionized.

Paul Christopher, Southern regional director of the AFL-CIO, says:

"There is no doubt but that widespread defections among union members put Benny Cash in the legislature to work against them."

There are union leaders in the South who fight the Council idea.

The rubber workers' regional chiefs in Atlanta moved in fast when they learned their members from the Goodrich Rubber Co. plant in Tuscaloosa were in the forefront of the mob which blocked Autherine Lucy's attendance at the University of Alabama.

Says Christopher:

"It wouldn't happen again today. Those rubber workers at Goodrich would stay put if a new mob formed. They've been told what would happen. They'll be out of the union and out of jobs. And, remember, guys in a mob like that are cowards, anyway."

Christopher has fought the racists tooth and nail in the South. Within the unions, he has more success than battling anti-union activity during organizing drives.

He tells of this incident: The leaders of one local came to him and said:

"We've decided to throw the niggers out. If you interfere with us, we'll secede."

"Oh, you'll secede, eh?" replied Christopher. "Well, maybe we'll make it easy for you. Maybe we'll just revoke your charter. You say this is the biggest issue before your union, so surely you can handle all the 'little' ones."

"So you can handle your own grievances, and then tell your members, 'Well, we lost the job, boys, but at least we don't have any Negroes in the local.'"

"And you can negotiate your own contract, and then tell your members, 'Well, no pay raise, boys, but at least we don't have any Negroes in the local.'"

"If that's what you want, take it—you have five minutes to decide."

The rebellious union chiefs went into a hasty caucus and came out meekly.

"Never mind," they said. "We'll keep the Negroes."

The big job in the South, insofar as unions are concerned, is to show their members that the race issue is used against them, whether they are black or white.

The anti-union and White Citizens Councils forces are almost one. In some sections of Louisiana, one actually was the forerunner of the other.

When efforts were under way to organize the sugar-cane field serfs into an agricultural workers' union, "Right to Work" Councils were formed to fight the drive. Many of these councils simply have changed their name to "White Citizens Council" now. Jackwoods, dictator who was the brains behind the organization of

the Louisiana WCC, personally testified on behalf of the "Right-to-work" bills, which were pushed by State Sen. W. O. Rainach, Perez' No. 2 man in the Councils.

Rainach insisted at a hearing that "many" workers begged him to push the "right-to-work" bill. An AFL-CIO attorney said: "Name one," and Rainach spluttered and stammered into an admission he couldn't think of one offhand.)

The Beacon Fails At Headquarters

One of the big White Citizens Councils ideas is a Southern Federation of Labor, split from the AFL-CIO. Many a Southern union official goes along with the WCC because he envisions himself as eventually the Jefferson Davis of organized labor.

But the two or three moves in this direction so far have failed. The locals depend too much on their internationals and the AFL-CIO for staff work.

Franz Daniels, AFL-CIO organizer in Washington, insists:

"We are not backing down from principle" when the racist issue is raised. But he adds that the national organization is leaving the problem "pretty much to the local people."

The national AFL-CIO produces no literature or counsel on how the local leaders should cope with the problem.

"What we can do," Daniels said, "is to remind our members that they are playing with their own safety—economically—if the Negroes are forced out."

It is Daniels' view that ejecting Negroes from local unions is a minor problem; it doesn't happen often. His real concern is that White Citizens Councils agitators intimidate members of mixed unions with the damning label of "nigger lovers" and hence silence them.

"The White Citizens Councils are dangerous because of their respectability," he said. "They have editors, judges—people like that—connected with them. They are smarter than the Ku Klux Klan was."

The WCC is sporadic in its attack on unions. There is every evidence that the Council's talents are brought into play for specific jobs at specific invitations.

But H. L. Mitchell, head of the Agricultural Workers Union, warns in a report:

"Many individuals and organizations who normally would be expected to speak out and rally the constructive forces of the South against the menace of the White Citizens Councils are either unaware of the dangers inherent in this movement or are intimidated. The labor movement, which has some political and economic power in the larger industrial areas of the South, also appears to be immobilized."

"Unless a program initiated by the AFL-CIO and the national and international unions is developed to expose the White Citizens Councils, future organizing campaigns planned by the AFL-CIO may as well be stopped at the Mason-Dixon line."

TOMORROW: The South's Liberals—Where Are They?

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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BAUMGARDNER

DIXIE DYNAMITE

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. N.Y. POST
DATED JAN 16 1957
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P. 4 NIGHT EXTRA

RE: RACIAL SITUATIONS
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BUFILE -

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60 JAN 31 1957

EX-102



By STAN OPOTOWSKY

Article IX

The Ku Klux Klan rides again.

The hooded kleagles, wizards and what-have-you are burning their crosses, staging their night parades and holding their hate rallies in direct defiance of the law. And, for the most part, the law sits by idly.

When first formed, the Citizens Councils sought to justify their existence by saying they would forestall a rebirth of the KKK. Resistance to integration was inevitable, they said. It was best that the "responsible people of each community lead the resistance, lest 'rabble rousers' cap-

ture the populace.

It hasn't worked out that way. The KKK took courage from the Councils. Dormant for years because of anti-Klan laws and general public disapproval, the Klan went back into business. And business is exactly the word. In contrast to the Councils' dom-

inant political motives, the Klan is a crass money-making operation.

The KKK rides today in South Carolina and Georgia, and in certain hotbeds in Alabama, Tennessee and northern Florida. It plans to invade Texas in full.

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force now, Texas authorities have learned from a planted informant.

The Klan operates now in bold defiance of the law, which forbids, among other things, masking in public. But at recent South Carolina rallies several highway patrolmen have been present—not to arrest the law violators, but to direct traffic to and from the meetings.

This type of cooperation is making the KKK increasingly bold. In an amazingly frank TV interview with Drew Pearson, an anonymous Klansman produced this exchange:

"Since those nine buzzards on the Supreme Court have abolished the Mason-Dixon line, we had to establish the Smith & Wesson line."

"Smith & Wesson line—what do you mean?"

"It is a popular brand of firearms in the Klan now."

"We're arming as fast as we can."

It is inflammatory talk like that which attracts and thrills the mobs. And the rednecks, thus, are ripe to shell out when the collection is inevitably made at each rally. The KKK is good business: fast turnover, all cash, and no records for over-inquisitive Internal Revenue agents.

The fee is \$10 to join the Klan, plus \$6 more for the "official" robe. At a recent meeting in Conway, S.C., the KKK leaders collected 123 new members after a rally. That's \$1,230—not bad for one night's work. A few weeks later a Camden, S.C., rally produced 800 new members—another \$8,000 for the kitty.

On bad nights, you can join at cut rates. An Atlanta reporter who slipped into a Stone Mountain, Ga., rally (reporters are

ejected when detected) was approached to join for the usual \$10.

"I don't have \$10," said the reporter.

"YOU can join for \$5," said the Klansman.

"Don't have \$5 either."

"Well," said the Klansman, a little exasperated, "how much DO you have?"

"Buck and a half," said the reporter.

"Gimme," said the Klansman. "YOU can join for a buck and a half."

For its members, the KKK promises fiery action to keep the Negroes "in their place." For the general public it is more restrained, insisting it will remain within the law. After one hate session, one KKK leader said blandly:

"It was a very nice meeting. I believe that a Negro would have found himself welcome if he attended. Nobody was aggressive at all."

The Rogues' Gallery Of Klan Leaders

Texas' attorney general, John Ben Shepperd, is hardly a liberal. He is leading the legal fight to outlaw the NAACP. But even he is concerned about the Klan.

He warned the state's prosecutors in a confidential letter that a Klan movement was being launched from Vaco, Tex., with financing by the KKK's national headquarters in Atlanta.

He added:

"The movement is apparently based on the greed of a number of Atlanta individuals (most of whom have police records) and is apparently aimed at exploiting Southern resentment against possible integration in the public

schools."

It was inevitable, of course, that such a booming business would produce competition. "Ku Klux Klan" is copyrighted by the U.S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. The South Carolina franchise is in the hands of J. H. Bickley of Marion, S. C.

Grand Dragon Bickley, after obtaining his franchise, was horrified to learn that a rival group was formed, calling itself the "Assn. of South Carolina Klans." He now is threatening to secure a court injunction against his competitors, charging them with infringement of copyright.

The leaders of the KKK are hardly the leaders of the community. Here's a run-down on them:

ELDON L. EDWARDS, 46, Imperial Wizard of the KKK. A spray painter at the General Motors plant in Atlanta, he has a record of arrests for drunken driving, gambling and liquor-running.

MILLARD W. MORGAN, 62, a one-armed GM assembly plant worker and for years Edwards' top KKK aide.

REV. E. B. SLAY, a Baptist minister with an Atlanta church. He won't talk to reporters because, "as you know, the newspapers hurt us before."

REV. ALBERT HORN of Talladega, Ala., a top KKK speaker. In 1950 he was charged with the night-rider murder of Charles Hurst of Pell City, Ala., who had warned his family: "The Klan is after me." One Klansman committed suicide after telling his family the KKK was trying to force him to take the rap. The charges against Horn were dropped in 1952 without explanation by the county prosecutor.

ROBERT AYERS BOWLING, 22, a KKK organizer. He has a

long police record, including burglary in 1950 and draft evasion in 1953. His brother Richard, 23, also a KKK organizer, was put on probation after a burglary conviction in 1950.

The attorney for the Klan is Samuel Green Jr., son of the late one-time Grand Dragon of the Assn. of Georgia Klans.

Anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism are much more open in the KKK than in the Citizens Councils. And the speeches are apt to be more inflammatory. But otherwise, there is not much difference between them, except that the eerie robes and flaming crosses make the KKK rallies a much better show.

How the Klan Goes A-Calling to Church

Klan rally speakers take great pains to warn the mobs of the black hordes whose invasion of the local community is imminent. Sometimes they have to reach pretty far to find examples.

Greenville, S. C., police uncovered the case of two bird-brained white girls who reasoned that they could protect their reputations by being promiscuous with Negroes instead of whites, since the Negroes would not dare to kiss and tell.

By the time that reached a KKK rally, it was a case of the white girls (who signed confessions admitting they propositioned the Negroes) being deflowered by "nigger bucks."

Under other circumstances, this could have been a lynching in the making. But it didn't come off because the local men in the mob were a bit too familiar with the real facts to get worked up.

The incident does show, however, the extent to which Klansmen will dig to find situations which will inflame the mob into shelling out the \$10 dues. The expenditure of \$10 is a great one for the type of man who joins the KKK.

The Klan in southern Alabama has a new little gimmick to bolster its public relations. Every so often it will invade a church during services.

A file of hooded Klansmen walks down the aisle, silently places a cash donation in the collection box, and leaves without a murmur.

The congregation is always stunned. But not the minister. He then whips out a pre-arranged sermon, which does not, of course, do the Klan any disservice.

Negroes in the South are not terrified of the Klan as they once were. They know that their real enemy, the one which actually inflicts damage, is the Citizens Councils. Negroes in Montgomery laughed and even hooted at Klansmen staging an abortive parade recently.

But there are many in the South, and these include the police, who fear that the Klan will be forced to resort to violence to justify its existence and keep its membership fired up. There is the danger, too, that Citizens

Councils which find interest lagging may see fit to finance a KKK incident in order to arouse the people and at the same time keep the Council skirts clean.

The South's newspapers, which either support the Councils or stand off in mute terror, are almost unanimous in their opposition to the Klan. The feeling is mutual. Reporters are unwelcome at KKK meetings, but generally slip in anyway.

Some of the Klan speeches border on the ludicrous. At Montgomery, the Rev. Slay attacked the Supreme Court's desegregation decision as one which was made by "black-robed buzzards, one of whose members is humbug black."

He told the crowd he learned from his "legal sources" that not one of the judges is qualified to sit on the court.

He said he had it "on good authority" that two of the judges carry Communist cards and are directors of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Grand Wizard Edwards then took over to say that "the Anti-Defamation League, which is the daddy of the NAACP, controls the press."

And the Rev. Horn came next to revive the case of Autherine Lucy, the Negro who attempted to enter the University of Alabama.

He said:

"She didn't need an education. She needed a funeral."

The KKK's literature is on a much more vulgar level than that of the Citizens Councils. The favorite missile, distributed at most Klan rallies, is a two-sided sheet. One side is entitled "The Ape" and the other "The Negro."

Two charts point out the "similar features," and the reading matter below contains such statements as:

Q "It is proven the world over that black and yellow skins are signs of mental and spiritual inferiority and that no tinged race can create a civilization."

Q "The Negro has no morals. He is not immoral, but immoral. Without the white man to control him the Negro resorts to savagery and practices torture, cruelty and witchcraft. The Negro is a natural cannibal and on his native doorstep may be found choice cuts of human flesh."

Q "The Negro carries stench glands as does the dog and in his natural state these may serve as a means of identification in place of a name."

Yes, that's the Klan's literature. But is Dr. Slay, that faithful minister of the Gospel, horrified by this?

"I'm proud of the Klan," he says.

"It stands for the constitutional form of government, the flag, school, home, church and womanhood."

TOMORROW—The Councils Attack Labor.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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DIXIE DYNAMITE

By STAN OPOTOWSKY

CLIPPING FROM THE

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EX-103

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Boardman _____
 Mr. Belmont _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Parsons _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tamm _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Holloman _____
 Miss Gandy _____

A three-paragraph letter put one Negro out of business. One moment L. A. Blackman was the owner of a prosperous little contracting firm. The next he had no business and little chance of getting a job in his home town of Elloree, S. C.

It happened the morning of Feb. 9, 1956. Blackman opened his mail and found this:

L. A. BLACKMAN:

Due to the difference of opinion in school segregation problems, we, Holly Hill Building Supply Co., will not be able to supply you with any of your buildings needs from this day forth.

We will write Ethel Jamison today and inform her we can't sell any more material to you for her home.

We do not wish to carry on business transactions with people that support the advancement of colored people. So do not ask for any more materials.

*Holly Hill Bldg. Supply
 Truette W. Westberry*

And that was the end of L.A. Blackman as a contractor.

He couldn't get materials from another firm, because the letter was not the result of one man's pique. It was the work of the Citizens Council, which induced ALL of the area's suppliers to blacklist Blackman for his mortal sin of supporting "the advance-

See Editorial on Page 29.

ment of colored people," or, more specifically, for belonging to the NAACP.

This is how the Citizens Councils seek to crush the Negro's fight for civil rights in the South through total economic boycott. In more tense areas, a town's entire Negro population has been battered to its knees.

Such is the case, for example, in Yazoo City, Miss., where the White Citizens Council has captured the town's entire power structure, political and economic.

Yazoo City is the gateway to the Delta, the plantation area of Mississippi. Here is the stronghold of the sharecropper, the origin of Sen. Eastland, former Congressman William Rankin and the late Theodore Bilbo. Here the Negro is most downtrodden, and so it was with as much astonishment as outrage that the whites of Yazoo City received a petition from the Negroes demanding desegregation of the schools.

Marshaled by the White Citi-

zens Council, Yazoo City responded. The 53 signers of the petition were warned by their employers to withdraw, or be fired. They were barraged with middle-of-the-night telephone calls filled with such tendernesses as:

"If you don't leave town in three hours you'll be floating in the Yazoo River."

Today only six of the original 53 names remain on the petition.

The six persistent signers and their families are persecuted daily. They keep jobs only until they are revealed as signers; then they're fired.

One told The Post:

"I got it again yesterday. The boss called me in. The petition I signed—it was right there on his desk. He said my work was good and he was sorry but he had to fire me. He couldn't help it. He said he might be able to call me back later when things calm down."

"They even fired the members of my family—and they didn't sign the petition. I'd like to leave town, but I have eight children."

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It takes money to leave town. And I haven't had a steady job in two years. Sometimes my wife can get a little home work until the lady finds out who she is."

Medgar Evers, the NAACP's representative in Jackson, Miss., points out:

"The people who signed this petition were not young firebrands. They didn't do a lot of big talking. They're, on the average, 50 years old, and all they did was sign that petition."

The petition signers became famous, in a way. Their names were printed in a newspaper ad. The Council also printed the names on a big placard, and this was posted in every store in town—even the bank. These people were blacklisted. They couldn't buy in local stores. The placards even were posted in cotton fields.

With the awful spectre of Yazoo City before them, few Mississippi Negroes would sign a desegregation petition today. But they can get into jams in other ways. Voting, for example.

In Jefferson Davis County the pressure was so great that Negro voting registration dropped from 1,221 in 1954 to 60 in 1956. It is in this area that Negro grocer Gus Courts was shot for refusing to remove his name from the voting rolls; no one has ever been arrested for this assault.

But in many areas the Councils don't even wait for an overt act to move against the Negro. In these mere membership in the NAACP is cause for boycott.

Negroes in Williamsburg County, S. C., are being denied bank loans for their crops even though they own their own farms and homes. John Dukes of Greelyville, who owns 202 acres, did business with the same bank for

years until he was suddenly told that he cannot get a loan because he belongs to NAACP. Several Negroes in Elloree, S. C., said they were told by the Bank of Elloree that one requirement for a loan was a signed statement testifying they are not now and will never become NAACP members.

This pressure is far-reaching. Two Elloree Negroes, Robert and W. B. Williams, were refused loans because their tenants signed an integration petition. The Williamses, who are cousins, didn't sign, but are being punished because they failed to induce their tenants to withdraw from the petition.

Generally, the motive is to still the Negroes' cry for integration or voting privileges. But sometimes a motive is more mundane:

How to Deal With A Competitor

In one Mississippi town a Negro opened a grocery across the street from a Negro housing project. His business siphoned considerable trade from a white grocer up the block. The white grocer, already a Citizens Council leader, told a meeting his Negro competitor was using his store for "agitatin' meetings."

The Council put on the pressure. Wholesalers were told if they sold to the Negro they would lose the white trade. The Negro's shelves lay empty for weeks, and his business folded.

In Alabama a white man hired as manager of a Negro housing project got testy with two housewives who complained about not getting a plumber as fast as they would have liked. As they left his office, one muttered that maybe a Negro ought to be managing a Negro project.

The project manager overnight changed from a dormant Citizens Council card holder to a leading light in the movement. Four fam-

ilies living in the project were hit by unemployment within six weeks.

In Sumter County, S. C., a Negro was able to build up a nice farm without torment. But once the place was developed and paying, he suddenly was called in and told he must pay off his full mortgage or face immediate foreclosure. He learned a white man now wanted the farm.

Two months before he had been assured that the mortgage would be carried over another year. Luckily, a Negro organization found him a lawyer who'd take his case and a Northern loan association which provided him the money to pay off the mortgage.

The Citizens Councils continue to harass him; he has trouble buying supplies.

Despite the aid supplied to the Sumter farmer, all of the South's Negroes are not united. Some have been bought off. There are wealthy Negroes in Mississippi who obstruct the fight on civil rights in deference to their status quo.

One struggling Negro newspaper editor sprouted out, suddenly, with a new car, new suits, considerable leisure time—and a new editorial policy: "We love segregation."

'Let's Get The Others'

But these are the exceptions. Generally, the Southern Negro has taken such a battering at the hands of the Citizens Council and their ilk that they're ready to follow leadership when it comes, and when it survives the torment and starvation generated by the Councils.

The Negro must provide his own leadership because he is losing his white friends in the South. The Citizens Councils pick them off like flies.

In Tuskegee, Ala., where the university and a veterans' hospital give the Negro great potential political power, the Board of Registrars simply refuses to sit, so Negroes cannot register. When one member of the board, seeing the injustice in this, consented to register Negroes the Council cut loose.

He was called throughout the night every 15 minutes and warned to desist. He could take so much, and then resigned.

When Mississippi's Catholic bishop simply stated the church's views on integration, the legislature came close to passing a bill withdrawing the tax exemption from any church which opposed segregation. Only Gov. Coleman's threat of a veto stymied the bill.

In New Orleans the Citizens Councils made a special attack on the Negro Urban League, which listed a number of prominent whites on its board of directors.

At one Council rally, the names of the board members were read off. Immediately Juvenile Court Judge Leo Blessing, who had long been interested in the league's work with youth, resigned from the board lest he be branded "nigger-lover."

At the next Council rally, the board's roster was read off again—and this time Blessing's name was omitted. Said Council chief Emmett Irwin to the mob:

"Well, we got one of them. Let's get the others."

Three others have indeed resigned from the board since; two of them were school teachers who felt their jobs were in jeopardy as a result of the Council's "expose."

Mississippi's rabid legislature even sought to censor Northern magazines. It voted a resolution censuring editor Hodding Carter

for an article he wrote in Lockport of the Councils. Only 17 members of the legislature refused to go along with the censure. They were marked for purge by the Councils, but so far only one has been eliminated.

The latest tangent is to attack charities—particularly the United Fund—which give some of their funds to Negroes.

This problem became especially acute in Virginia, where violent propaganda was imported from the National Citizens Protective Assn. of St. Louis. The Councils throughout the South frequently have given wide mailings to the association's diatribes.

John W. Hamilton of Boston formed the association when he broke with his old boss, Gerald L. K. Smith. Hamilton is temporarily out of commission, facing a morals charge involving a 15-year-old boy.

But his literature flooded Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke, Petersburg and Charlottesville. It was distributed locally, mostly by hand, in industrial plants, military establishments and businesses.

The Urban League was the principal object of the attack. But even after the Urban League withdrew from the United Fund and Community Chests in order not to imperil their collections, the pamphlets continued rolling in.

William B. Dickson Jr., Community Chest president in Norfolk, said the pamphlets contained "half truths and out and out lies." It is, he said, "gutter fighting."

The material was anti-Semitic as well as anti-Negro. One phrase frequently repeated was:

"The danger to the white race comes from the aspirations of the Jewish race to dominate the world."

The hate literature did its job in Virginia in so far as the Urban League is concerned. All cities canceled donations; some of these, without local Urban League chapters, had been donating small amounts to the national headquarters for years.

However, throughout the South the Urban League has been oversubscribed by Negro donations.

TOMORROW: Catholics and Jews in the South.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Harbo	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

file
195-34737

Willard
BAUMGARDNER

Dixie Dynamite: 'No One Dares

Speak Up ...

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. NY POST
DATED 1/13/57
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RE: RACIAL SITUATIONS
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NO
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EX-117

58 JAN 24 1957

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By STAN OPOTOWSKY

Article VI

The clear result of the South's domination by Citizens Councils is a total breakdown of civil rights—not just the Negro's civil rights, but the civil rights of all persons who might dare doubt the wisdom of fighting off integration.

The situation is best summed up by Arthur Levin, head of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League in Atlanta. He says:

"No one dares speak up. There has been a complete breakdown of civil liberties. In a way, you could say there is no intimidation any more because there is no one to intimidate. The desenters don't speak."

Which are the freedoms you prize?

Freedom of speech?

In Shreveport, La., a Caddo Parish (county) juvenile probation officer, Louis Rains, was fired simply because he said the police jury, which is the parish governing body, was "biased" in its stand against segregation.

Freedom of the press?

Kenneth Dixon of the Lake Charles, La., American Press was slugged by White Citizens Council organizers simply because he wrote that the Council was not wanted or needed in his community.

Freedom to assemble?

Most Southern states now have passed laws specifically banning interracial meetings of any kind, except in actual church services. The NAACP is either outlawed or under investigation by the legislatures of all but two Southern states.

Or maybe you're just satisfied to think your own thoughts in the sanctity of your home and let the other fellow fight the battles?

One New Orleans man told Citizens Council house-to-house canvassers he'd just as soon not join because he had a civil service job and it might be jeopardized. The angry canvassers returned a few minutes later armed with bricks, and were about to smash his windows when he ran them off with a shotgun.

Extreme cases? Sure these are. But that's what they are supposed to be. They are well publicized locally, and any other dissenters to the wisdom of the Citizens Council get the drift. They kick in dues to prevent trouble. Or they swallow the words they would like to utter in protest of the madness which runs rampant.

NOT EVEN HIGH POSITION OR PUBLIC ESTEEM can provide escape from the rubber-stamp thinking demanded in the South today.

Dr. Guy Wells climaxed a long and distinguished career by being named president emeritus of Georgia State College for Women. But Dr. Wells then took a position as executive director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

The jackals cut loose. The state's board of regents stripped him of his "president emeritus" title, and ordered the retirement board to investigate the feasibility of taking away Dr. Wells' pension. It did not do so only because the pension fund turned out to be a cooperative, legally binding.

A legislator dare not vote his mind. In Shreveport a police jury member was asked to resign because he refused to support a resolution calling for an act of interposition. This man felt that such a resolution was silly because the Supreme Court would never even hear of the action in an obscure Southern county. But his logic was lost in the jungle of his heresy, and he became a political dead duck.

The laws against interracial meetings—especially tough in Louisiana—cut off any possible avenues to those who might want to help the South out of its excruciating dilemma.

When a federal court ordered the New Orleans public schools specifically to integrate, the Louisiana Council on Human Relations scheduled a seminar for teachers on the practical problems they might face.

This was not to be a rally for or against segregation. It was to be a professional study clinic of newly integrated schools. The plan was to bring Louisville's Dr. Omar Carmichael to blueprint his successful integration program and to answer the teachers' questions.

The meeting never came off. In the first place, the teachers said they dared not attend, lest they lose their jobs. In the second place, no organization would permit use of its halls for an illegal interracial meeting. Not even Negro groups were willing to buck the law.

Integration is not just a dirty word. It's a forbidden word. A priest gives an example of how people shy from discussion. He was visiting a parish church, and conducted one mass.

As he sat in the parish house later having a cup of coffee, the maid asked casually, "What was your sermon about, father?"

"Segregation," he said.

"Lord," she replied, "you are in trouble."

Recalling the incident, the priest said, "She didn't bother to ask me whether I was for or against segregation. To her the very fact that I discussed it meant I was in trouble."

But the maid knew whereof she spoke. The priest

was safe, but many a Southern minister has lost his church bucking the Citizens Council on the integration issue. The most prominent is the Rev. Marsh Callaway of the Presbyterian Church in Durant, Miss., who was fired because he defended a doctor who called integration "inevitable."

Church elder C. H. Blanton said of the ousted Callaway:

"He made the mistake of getting crossed up with the Citizens Council."

Of late, Southern ministers have been bridling under treatment like this and have shown more inclination to speak out. But this is confined almost exclusively to the cities. In the rural areas, a minister still is for segregation or for silence.

* * *

THE CITIZENS COUNCIL IN ITS VERY FIRST meeting said it didn't want "agitators" in its towns, and it is getting more liberal in its definition of the word "agitator."

A white grocer in Money, Miss., who spoke up against the murder of Emmett Till in that town, found life becoming unbearable. He decided to move to Lexington, Miss.

He rented a house there and put down \$500 for an option on a building to start his new grocery. When the White Citizens Council heard of a newcomer in town, it sent a committee of three back to Money to investigate him.

When it returned, the hapless man was summoned to a Council meeting and told the citizenry had decided he "wouldn't be happy here."

He didn't dare make the move after that.

Not even a lawyer is safe in his practice.

In North Carolina attorney James D. Gilliland got a desperate call from his ex-college roommate asking him for counsel before a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing. Gilliland represented his friend.

Late in the day's hearing, as a purely diversionary



Emmett Till

Defending him is dangerous

tactic, Gilliland asked Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) why he didn't investigate the un-American activities of those who were seeking to circumvent the Supreme Court of the United States.

Nothing came of the remark until the local Citizens Council got wind of it. First Gilliland was expelled from the Lions Club, and forcibly ejected from the meeting by a policeman when he arrived to defend himself. He was expelled from the local golf club, asked to resign as solicitor in county recorder's court, condemned by the state American Legion although he was commander of the local post, and in August proceedings were begun to disbar him.

At no time during this harassment was he criticized for representing a man before the Un-American Activities Committee; his crime was irreverence to the noble cause of segregation.

* * *

THE ATTACK ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE DISSENT-ers is not simply one of pressure. It is carried over to the state legislatures, where restrictive laws are passed by the dozens.

Here are some of the new laws passed by Southern legislatures:

¶ Alabama authorized school boards to fire teachers for belonging to organizations advocating racial integration. (This is aimed at the NAACP, but also would include the YWCA and the Girl Scouts, among others.)

¶ Florida authorized local school officials to ignore contracts and tenure of rebellious teachers.

¶ Louisiana ordered that any local school which integrated would be deprived of the free textbooks, supplies and lunches provided by the state. Furthermore,



Dr. Omar Carmichael
No chance to speak

It forbade state colleges to accept graduates from integrated schools.

¶ Georgia passed a bill which would strip any policeman or sheriff of all retirement benefits and disability payments if he failed to enforce the state's segregation laws.

¶ Florida would fire not only teachers but even school bus drivers and janitors who belong to pro-integration organizations.

¶ Mississippi passed a law which insures segregation in reverse. It forbids white students to enroll at Negro colleges.

¶ South Carolina specifically forbids hiring in any state, county or municipal job any person who belongs to the NAACP.

¶ Miffed at Arlington County for running against the tide and plotting integration, the Virginia Legislature passed a special bill specifically making the Arlington school board an appointive body instead of an elective body. That stripped the county's residents, who largely work in integrated Washington, D. C., of the opportunity to accomplish their will.

¶ In addition to these laws specifically slapping down the rights of individuals, there are others designed to imperil integration. Many states, for example, have repealed their compulsory school attendance laws; better illiterate than integrated, they feel.

This is all part of the Council idea of brooking no dissenters within its midst and attacking the idea—which probably would be that of most unfettered Southerners—that there can be a middle ground.

L. F. Davis Jr., of the New Orleans White Citizens Council, expressed it this way:

"We're organizing on a ward-by-ward, block-by-block basis. And I think as we canvass every house we ought to make it clear that joining our organization is like casting a vote for segregation."

The Montgomery, Ala., housewives who wanted their Negro maids, bus boycott or no bus boycott, simply drove the domestics to and from work. They paid a price. Their telephones jangled through the night, and voices poured forth threats and obscenities.

These were supposed to be strange voices, but sometimes they weren't so strange. One housewife told a Post reporter:

"There's one Citizens Council big wheel in this neighborhood, and I recognized his voice when he called. Besides, he knew my name and my husband's name and my children's names."

Civil rights? It seems that in Montgomery—at least, in the Citizens Council's idea of Montgomery—you don't even have the right to drive your own automobile if you're running contrary to the code.

* * *

GEORGIA'S ATTACK ON MRS. COLLEEN MARIE

Wiggins, a school teacher who said she didn't object to teaching Negroes, was relentless. It proved that the state was against teachers expressing their views, rather than against Mrs. Wiggins as a single menace to her pupils.

Because weeks after Mrs. Wiggins quit her job and even moved to another state, the Georgia Board of Education pressed its efforts to cancel her license. It was no longer after Mrs. Wiggins. She was licked. It was simply reminding ALL Georgia teachers of the folly of careless words.

Sometimes you needn't even speak the words to get into trouble. Guy Hutchins, 52, a Camden, S. C., school teacher, was suspected of voicing pro-integration sentiments. Actually, he hadn't said a word on the subject, but he was flogged by a hooded band. His pastor, the Rev. Styles B. Lyons, in shocked comment on the incident, summed up the dilemma of all Dixie when he said:

"Men are afraid to speak up. There is no freedom of speech except for those who choose to run with the pressure groups."

"Fear covers South Carolina like the frost."

Monday: The Negro Is Starved.

1/11/57

Mr. Tolson	
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Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
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Mr. Tamm	
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BAUMGARDNER

DIXIE DYNAMITE

The Men Behind the Councils

CLIPPING FROM THE

S. C. N.Y. POST

DATED JAN 11 1957

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

P. 4 NIGHT EXTRA

RE: RACIAL SITUATIONS
IS- C

BUFILE -

file 105-34237

INDEXED - 22

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EX-126

57 JAN 31 1957

By STAN OPOTOWSKY

Article V

The Citizens Councils would have you believe that they are a grass roots movement—the desperate expression of an oppressed Southern citizenry fighting for its culture and its tradition. This is not true. For the most part, the Citizens Councils are a bold political tool. They were started by the big brains at the top.

In almost every case, the local Council is formed by an outside organizer, usually from the state headquarters. In almost every state, there is a single, cynical political objective. Southern politicians are convinced that the race issue today is a mammoth blanket that covers all sins.

The Georgia network of Councils is the most outstanding example. They don't call them Citizens Councils in Georgia. They call them States' Rights Councils. But it's all the same movement and, in fact, the Georgia States' Rights Councils supply the top speakers for major Citizens Council rallies in the other Southern states.

Roy Harris and Hugh Grant, two perennial Georgia political powers, launched the Georgia Councils with a meeting of high brass in September, 1955. The objective was simple: Herman Talmadge was ready to run against Walter George for



GOV. MARVIN GRIFFIN

Lousy roads, but a good issue

the U. S. Senate, and Herman's only hope was to batter the distinguished George on the race issue.

The Councils would do the job. Harris' newspaper followed up the first Council meeting with headlines such as "Talmadge



HERMAN TALMADGE

He needed a gimmick to win

Must Save the South" and "Talmadge, Man of the Hour." William Bodenhamer, a minister and educator, was appointed Council executive secretary at a salary of \$500 a month, given an Atlanta office and told to organize Councils in every county with a membership of 150,000.

George saw the handwriting on the wall. He couldn't lick that kind of organization, so he retired. Talmadge, already assured he could put in his own man as governor, now also had half the state's Senate delegation.

The next step has become obvious.

Marvin Griffin is now serving a sorry term as governor. He ran on an economy-in-government ticket, and then effected this "economy" after his election by ramming through a \$40,000,000 tax increase. Georgia's roads remain among the nation's worst; all approaches to bustling Atlanta, for example, are traffic-choked two-lane paths.

Yet Griffin must be salvaged to unseat Richard Russell as Senator two years

Continued on Page 30

Continued from Page 4

hence. Only Councils can do the job for him. The race issue must be used as a diversion from Griffin's failure as governor, and already Griffin has replaced Talmadge as the showpiece of the major Council activities.

Likewise, the Citizens Councils in Louisiana sprang from political necessity. The guiding political light behind them is Leander Perez, a back-country dictator with previous experience in finding every white man's daughter about to marry a Negro just when Leander Perez is in political trouble.

His last major excursion was in 1948. Perez was interested in tidelands oil and he wanted it controlled by the easy-to-handle state legislature rather than by the federal government. The only hope, he felt, was to push Harry Truman into a corner. So Perez drummed up the racists of the South, and the Dixiecrat Party was the result.

Perez's hope was to force the election into the House of Representatives, and then sell the Dixiecrat electoral votes for the tidelands oil rights. He failed then but got his oil from the Eisenhower Administration and grew quiet. It seemed the white girls weren't marrying the Negroes after all.

A New Difficulty. But the Old Gimmick

But now Perez is in new political trouble. For one thing, his arch-enemy, Earl Long, was elected governor of Louisiana, and by the margin of the state's growing Negro vote. Long's legislature promptly split Perez' two-county district attorney jurisdictions in half. And the half left to Perez was under invasion by expanding New Orleans; new suburbanites were moving in with independent voting ideas because they had not been reaped under Perez' dictatorship.

Desperate, Perez formed an alliance with a north Louisiana legislator with gubernatorial ambitions, W. O. Rainach. They got the Council going, with an egotistical New Orleans surgeon, Dr. Emmett Lee Irwin, as the figure-head leader.

His empire crumbling, Perez hopes to salvage it by again rescuing the innocent white girls from their re-appearing Negro swains.

The situation is somewhat similar in Tennessee. This state had been captured by a wing which is liberal for the South. Its Senators, Gore and Kefauver, were among the few who dared to omit their signatures from the Southern Manifesto pledging a fight against the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Its Gov. Clement once was opposed to a state legislative fight against the decision. (He has since been forced to reverse his stand.)

This left the remnants of the old Boss Crump gang in Memphis out in the cold. And it left Chattanooga's ambitious Judge Ralston Schoolfield out in the cold. Schoolfield had run on the racist issue, perhaps a bit prematurely, against Clement for governor and got a sad beating.

It is no coincidence, thus, that the Citizens Councils in Tennessee are strongest in Crump's Memphis area and Schoolfield's Chattanooga area. Schoolfield rushed to Clinton to appear as a character witness for John Kasper as he was tried for inciting a riot.

For many people in Clinton this confirmed an old suspicion that Kasper was sent to their town to fight integration by outside political interests which are desperate to keep the issue white hot at least through the 1958 elections.

In Alabama and South Car-

olina the situation is somewhat different. Here we have small men latching onto a big thing, and vaulting overnight into tremendous political power.

Three years ago Sam Englehardt was an Alabama planter, and an obscure member of the state senate; he controlled 3,000 votes at most. Today Alabama politicians assume Englehardt can sway 50,000 to 60,000 votes through his capacity as executive secretary of the state's Citizens Councils network.

Englehardt was scooped up because he was needed. The west Alabama clique of politicians, under Sen. Walter Givhan and Attorney Austin Keith, had fair control of the state legislature. But they did not have the executive mansion or its patronage.

There Gov. "Kissin' Jim" Folsom held sway, and it was fantastic the way the people would send Folsom back into office no matter how many times his extracurricular escapades were exposed.

But, luckily, Folsom had some queer ideas that maybe the South ought to work out its segregation problem on a steady, moderate basis with Negro leaders. He even entertained a Negro Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, in the executive mansion to discuss the matter.

Here, then, "Kissin' Jim" was vulnerable. The Councils were launched, and they vented their fury on Folsom. But even Englehardt admits circumstances beyond the Council's control saved the day. The people weren't responding until the Montgomery bus boycott and the Autherine Lucy incident.

"We'd never had gotten to first base without them," Englehardt admits.

In South Carolina, S. Emory Rodgers was a quiet little Summerton lawyer until the sinecure of Clarendon County school board attorney hoisted him to his fate. It was the Clarendon County case that went to the U. S. Supreme Court, and, as school board attorney, it was Rodgers who found himself appearing before that august bench.

Overnight Rodgers became famous in his state. And he knew in which direction to move. He became an organizer of the state's Citizens Council. Politicos in the state assume this is his pitch to become governor, although he has a rival, Lawrence Gressette, who is using a state legislative investigating committee to fight the battle against the Negro.



LEANDER H. PEREZ

White supremacy is his cure-all

The Mississippi Councils actually were started by planters rather than politicians. But they quickly moved in to support one of their own, House Speaker Walter Sillers, for governor. He lost by a shocking margin. Those on the inside feel that they tried to put Sillers in office before their strength was solidified. They'll do better next time, they feel.

But there is considerable doubt.

in the South that the Citizens Councils alone can elect anyone. Their chief power, apparently, is that of veto.

Many Councils threw weight behind the States' Rights ticket, headed by ex-federal internal revenue collector T. Coleman Andrews, rather than support either Adlai Stevenson or President Eisenhower last November. The States' Rights ticket ran a poor third everywhere.

The Councils could not elect Wright governor of Mississippi. They were swamped in an attempt to control a recent Clinton city election. They must spend tremendous amounts of money in advertising and promotion to draw crowds of 300 and 400 to meetings in Georgia.

Does this mean that the Councils are a lot of noise with no political punch? No, say the Southern politicians. It's a matter of the delicate difference between electing a man and defeating one.

The Councils may not be able to elect their choice of one candidate out of three, because all three will be violent pro-segregationists.

But the Councils surely could crush one of those hypothetical three if it branded him as an integrationist or even a moderate. Because in the South today the Councils' saturation propaganda has done its job to this extent:

There are no segregationists, integrationists or moderates. There are only "white supremacists" or "nigger lovers," and, publicly, very few of the latter even among the so-called liberals.

Mississippi's Gov. J. P. Coleman illustrates the terror of the anti-Council politicians. He's a segregationist. But privately he's against the Councils. He thinks they are too extreme, and he thinks that their danger as a master of Mississippi politics transcends even the segregation issue.

Yet he dare not say a public word against them. They could crush him even if they cannot name his replacement.

This is true to a lesser degree in city and county elections. Here there is more concentrated power.

The peak of hypocrisy comes when these state-wide Citizens Councils, launched and directed by power politicians, make a point of insisting they are not in politics. One such declaration was made in Mississippi.

And who stood up to say the Councils were not in politics?

A member of the state legislature, Rep. Wilma Slade.

And where did she say the Councils were not in politics?

On the floor of the Legislature in Jackson.

And what was the No. 1 objective of these non-political Councils?

To "work against those who might be seeking the Negro vote," said Rep. Slade.

Another proof of the political inspiration of the Councils comes in the forthcoming trial of 16 Council and Ku Klux Klan leaders for contempt of federal court in Clinton. These defendants are poor people—the bottom of Clinton's social scale, for the most part. And they have practiced what the Councils officially say they most deplore: violence.

Yet there's a bevy of big attorneys defending them, and they say they have the advice of attorneys general from at least three Southern states.

Why? Because the next election year is 1958, and that's a long way off.

To be politically effective, the issue must be kept alive until then.

Defeat at Clinton would be costly to the political aspirations of the Councils. Defeatism might spread.

Besides, some of these Council bigwigs are men of vision who can see beyond the South as their power grows and grows. Crows Georgia's Roy Harris:

"Herman Talmadge is my candidate for President in 1960."

WEEK-END EDITION: The Breakdown of Civil Rights.

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 Mr. Mohr _____
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file 105-34237

C.F. Hall

Miller

DIXIE DYNAMITE

The Inside Story of the

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS

CLIPPING FROM THE
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N. Y. _____

DATED..... JAN 9 1957

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

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ACE CARTER and JOHN KASPER
A booming harangue or a hypnotic drone—they both work.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
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Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

By **STAN OPOTOWSKY**

Article III

A floundering misfit starving for attention . . .

A small-time radio announcer looking for a money gimmick . . .

A hired plantation manager who doesn't quite rank with the "best" people . . .

An aging bachelor fighting the hopeless battle of loneliness . . .

These are the pace-setters in the White Citizens Councils' race against history. These are the men who fire up the mobs. They have absolutely nothing in common—until they climb upon a platform and begin a tirade of hate against the Negro and all who may balk in this crusade back to slavery.

There's John Kasper, who almost single-handedly roused the rabble of Clinton, Tenn., into a vicious mob that knew no bounds. There's Asa (Ace) Carter, whose radio diatribes grew so close to the philosophy of the Nazis that he was kicked off the air and branded a "fascist" even by a rival Council leader. There's Robert (Tut) Patterson, who finally invaded the drawing rooms of his Mississippi plantation - owning heroes by promising to save them from the Black Revolution. And there's Dr. Emmett Lee Irwin of New Orleans, who finally found an activity more rewarding than growing azaleas.

Kasper and Carter are the big guns. They have had the most noteworthy success.

Kasper, 26, is New Jersey-born, the son of an MIT engineer, a graduate of Columbia, and a one-time member of a Greenwich Village interracial set. His hero is Ezra Pound, who will stand trial for treason if he ever gets out of the mental hospital where he's now confined. Kasper says Pound once gave him the sage advice, "To become famous a man must DO SOMETHING—it doesn't matter on which side, just so you DO SOMETHING."

Pound chose the Nazi side. Kas-

Continued on Page 68



ROBERT (TUT) PATTERSON

Heading off the 'Black Revolution'

per chose the white supremacy side. He was operating a Washington, D.C., bookstore specializing in hate literature when he invaded Clinton the week-end before school opened last August.

No one had ever paid any attention to Kasper before. At Columbia, he admits, he never joined a single organization because "I wasn't interested in them and they surely weren't interested in me." In a previous excursion South he had been a miserable failure trying to win an Alabama Senatorial election for retired Admiral John Crommelin, an old hand at racism, against Lister Hill.

But in Clinton, Kasper found listeners. The high school had just been ordered integrated. The townspeople accepted this as inevitable. But the hillbillies of rural Anderson County were muttering darkly.

Kasper generated them into his White Citizens Council, and then into a wild mob which could be subdued only by the bayonets of the National Guard. He hypnotized his following. Kasper speaks in a low monotone, droning on and on and on and on until his audience begins whooping punctuation to his spiel.

Human "diversity" is granted by God, he says. The white man's "privilege" of remaining supreme is inherent in the Constitution. Sen. McCarthy is "one of America's greatest statesmen."

He told one crowd:

"Who believes in the law? We're the law. We make the law."

Tall, slender, with deep-set penetrating eyes, Kasper can recite his catechism and all of the anti-Negro cliches he peddles in his Washington bookstore. But he cannot stand cross-examination.

On trial in Clinton for inciting a riot, he was asked to answer a simple question, "yes or no."

His reply was a 30-minute speech on God's will that the Negro remain forever subservient to the white man.

He testified that more than half the people in Anderson County supported his Council. But he couldn't even make a good guess as to the population of Anderson County.

Strategic Retreat Before the Attack

Although Kasper has done well in stirring up trouble in Clinton, he keeps clear of it when the going gets rough. The night before the attack on a white Baptist minister giving Negro children a safety escort to school, Kasper fled Clinton on a "business trip." When federal marshals swooped in on the rabble who performed the attack, John Kasper was 400 miles away.

That's something he has in common with Ace Carter. Ace wasn't at Tuscaloosa, Ala., when a mob overran the University of Alabama—but his men were. Ace wasn't in the Birmingham auditorium when Nat (King) Cole was attacked onstage—but his men were. Ace did make a quick trip to Clinton at the peak of its trouble, but he took one look around at the sputtering fuse, made a speech, collected a batch of White Citizens Council dues and raced back to safe Birmingham.

Carter was an obscure announcer on Birmingham's WILD when a pro-segregation group which preceded the Citizens Council began sponsoring him in a series of racist talks. But his speeches got so uninhibited that the station booted him off the air after a particularly vicious attack against the National Council of Christians and Jews.

Even the South Alabama Citizens Councils broke with Carter's North Alabama group, and State Sen. Sam Engelhardt, who controls the southern contingent, branded Carter a "fascist." Engelhardt is against anti-Semitism.

"We can't fight everybody," he

said. "There'll be nobody left to help us."

But although somewhat divorced from the general movement, Carter runs about 12 Councils from an abandoned theater in a Birmingham park. Dapper, soft spoken off stage, Carter collects \$1 for each member but won't say how much this totals. He also now serves as "adviser" to the local Ku Klux Klan.

His platform technique is different from Kasper's. Carter is a harangue man. He pounds his fists. He shouts. And there's the anger of insult in his voice when he attacks the dastardly Supreme Court desegregation decision.

He has one special gimmick: as he sits on the platform waiting his turn to speak, he has a well-rehearsed claque which begins shouting his name. This is rather disconcerting to the other speakers, but it has the crowd well warmed up when Carter's turn finally comes.

The Power Of The Written Word

The literature of the Councils is as important as these rallies, however, since the general Council strategy is to avoid too many rallies, lest the followers grow bored or even inquisitive.

One of the top propagandists is D. E. Birdsell of Baton Rouge, La., who publishes something called the Southern Digest. This is a collection of the "best" in racist propaganda. The Councils don't claim direct kinship to him because he persists in including anti-Semitic literature, but he obviously uses the Council mailing lists for distribution.

Birdsell recently was arrested on the extortion complaint of a woman who said he took nude photographs of her. He also was convicted of possession of a hypodermic needle and syringe, and admitted previously serving two bad check jail terms in New York. One of his character witnesses was John B. Easterly Sr., head of the Southern Gentlemen, a Baton Rouge offshoot of the Citizens Councils. As a matter of fact, Birdsell was in the Southern Gentlemen meeting room when officers arrested him.

Men like Carter, Kasper and Birdsell are professionals. But there are amateurs in the business, too.

There's Dr. Irwin, a prominent New Orleans surgeon. He's in his 60s, unmarried and alone. His hobby for years was raising azaleas. His collection is such that he charges admission for garden devotees to inspect them each spring.

Upper Echelon Hired Hand

But that's not enough for Irwin. He desperately needs a cause for his boundless energies. He set himself up as a one-man FBI to fight communism in New Orleans in the 1930s. He engaged in a long and costly feud with a neighbor over something as petty as the correct spelling of a little river near his estate; he tried to get all the maps changed.

Then he found racism, and formed the New Orleans Citizens Council. He was not alone. He had powerful political backing. But he got to make the big speeches, and he glowed. At first he seemed a little uncomfortable on the platform when fellow speakers got a mite wild, but

now he can exhort against intermarriage with the best of them.

With Mississippi's Tut Patterson, it was different. He never had the social standing of an Irwin. True, Patterson was by no means "poor white trash." But as a plantation manager he nevertheless was a hired hand of sorts.

Patterson got in on the ground floor. He was at the very first White Citizens Council meeting in Indianola, and gave a rousing pep talk in which he warned that the situation was so serious "we must forget the almighty dollar — for a while."

Patterson also knew his economics. Mississippi employs 200,000 fewer farm laborers now than 25 years ago because of mechanization. It wants to drive some of its Negroes north. This way it can keep the remainder at slave-level pay, and still not have a big welfare bill for the unemployed.

Too, it is the philosophy of the Delta that any laboring man should work, pray and sleep, period. Only the planters need diversion from cotton. The state penitentiary at Parchman is simply a cotton plantation using convicts as labor. The warden is not a penologist, but an experienced

plantation manager. His annual report to the legislature is not on salvaged lives; it is a profit-and-loss statement, with the accent on the profit.

Robert Patterson can understand these things. He knows that a Negro who is stirred up about civil rights may well start wandering off into the area of other rights, and an economy will teeter.

If It Was Good Enough for Daddy . . .

But Patterson is not too sharp politically, and has made a few overly-frank statements that have eased him out of the Jackson office and into the "national" office at Greenwood. He remains executive secretary of the Mississippi Councils, but there aren't a lot of newspapermen running around Greenwood and so Tut is less likely to put his foot into his mouth there.

Patterson's understanding of the plantation economy is shared by Sam Englehardt, a southern Alabama planter who is chief of the Councils not controlled by Ace Carter.

Everyone you talk to in Ala-

bama describes Sam Englehardt as dumb but affable. Never just "dumb." And never just "affable." They also insist that Englehardt is sincere in his belief that the Negro must remain in subservience because that's what his daddy taught him, and the only things Sam knows are those his daddy taught him.

A Montgomery newspaperman, speaking of Englehardt's plantation, said:

"Hell, Sam's Negroes aren't concerned with integration. Somebody's got to read them the Emancipation Proclamation first."

Sam really has a great sense of humor, they tell you in Alabama, but Sam's jokes seem to run to "I don't mind you integrating with nigger wimmin but don't let me catch you eating with 'em."

Englehardt joined forces with Luther Ingalls to get the Councils going when Montgomery's long dormant Negroes threw their pent-up resentment into the bus boycott. Ingalls was a bill-collecting lawyer without much standing in Montgomery. Englehardt, as a state senator and wealthy farmer, had the standing, but couldn't get the Council going in his home county. This marriage, plus happenstance, put them in business.

"We could never have done it if it weren't for the bus boycott and Autherine Lucy," said Englehardt.

But there was a boycott, and there was an Autherine Lucy, and Sam Englehardt—good old "dumb but affable" Sam — became one of the biggest men in Alabama.

TOMORROW: The Councils' Product—Clinton.

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Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
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Mr. Mohr	
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File
105-34737

DIXIE DYNAMITE

The Inside Story of the

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS

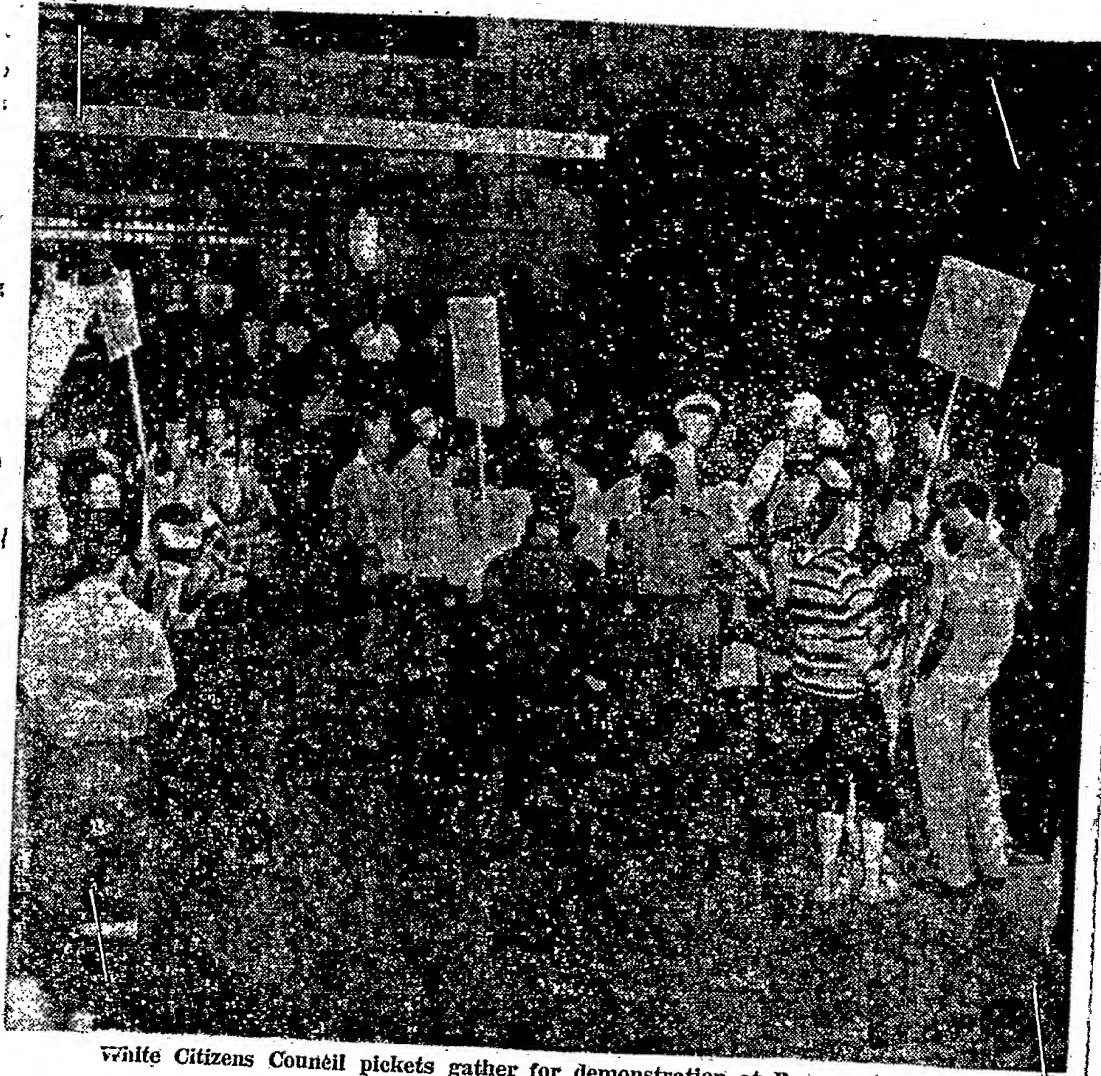
SAINT GARDNER
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 191 JAN 18 1957

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White Citizens Council pickets gather for demonstration at Beaumont, Tex.



-Asa Carter rouses the rabble during recent appearance in Tennessee.

BY STAN OPOTOWSKY

Article II

A secret meeting started it all.

The time: a muggy July night in 1954, two months after the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. The place: Indianola, Miss., in the heart of the "black belt."

Gathered were the planters, their managers and the county's few key business men. They were told in advance only that the meeting would show what "we can do" about the niggers."

Some 75 attended, and a wire recorder preserved the proceedings, not so much for posterity as for the guidance of future White Citizens Council organizers. For this was the start of the new network of racists that was to blanket the South.

Here, taken from the Council file plainly marked "Confidential," is an account of that first meeting:

It was opened by Herman Moore, president of the Indianola Bank, with these words:

"This meeting should have been held 30 years ago, if we will reflect, when it was very noticeable that the Negro was organizing. Then there was a light in every Negro church, every night, regardless of the time you passed. . . . The Negro continued to meet and organize and through their concerted efforts, with the help of what I believe to be subversive groups and others, have made them a force to be reckoned with.

"We have waited too long, but it isn't too late. It's not too late to organize, which, in my mind, is our only salvation. There has been no publicity and we have suggested to each group we have met that they keep it out of the press and off the air. The news has trickled out, just as we have expected and hoped it would. The Negro knows that we are organizing but he does not know what we plan to do.

"The best thing, we think, is to put him right where we have stayed for 30 years and keep him guessing."

With that introduction, banker Moore introduced a lawyer, Arthur Clark, Jr., and Clark presented the master plan that became the Citizens Councils.

He started with what has become the traditional WCC rallying cry: lock the bedroom door, lest all our women

Continued on Page 10

Continued from Page 4

He ravaged. He told the crowd that Walter White, now dead but then NAACP executive secretary, favored mixed marriages and he coyly observed that the Negro beauties featured in the Negro press really have caucasian, not negroid, features.

That was to warm up the crowd. Clark quickly got down to more serious business — the organization of the Council. It would be run, he explained, not by its membership, but by committees:

The Councils' Master Plan

¶ A political and election committee "to screen all candidates for public office and eliminate anyone who favors integration or a breakdown of segregation of the races."

¶ A membership and finance committee "which must, of course, screen its members and also has the power to eject any one who is unable or unwilling to work within the framework set up."

¶ An information and education committee "to secure information on the activities of the NAACP and other like organizations... and to anticipate other concerted action which is contrary to the actions of this group."

¶ A legal and advisory committee to handle the "various legal questions which may arise." ... Then Clark told succinctly the strategy of the Council:

"It is the thought of our group that the solution to this problem may become easier if various agitators and the like could be removed from the communities in which they operate. We propose to accomplish this result through the careful application of economic pressure upon those men who cannot be controlled otherwise."

That, then, was the plan. If a Negro persisted in NAACP membership, if a white man didn't play the game, if anyone gave trouble, starve them to death. The Citizens Councils were born.

Robert (Tut) Patterson, a hired plantation manager destined to become hired boss of Mississippi's Councils, ended the meeting on a pep talk note:

"We must educate our fellow citizens, both black and white, to the dangers of integration and the advantages of segregation. We can win! We shall win!"

The WCC Puts The Heat On

The movement spread quickly. Within six weeks there were White Citizens Councils in 17 Mississippi counties. And Fred Jones, a member of Sunflower County's Board of Supervisors, began circulating political leaders of laggard counties with mimeographed "Dear Friend" letters which insisted "it is imperative that all of the 82 counties in the state organize."

And lest they be unaware of the imminent dangers, he revealed this horrifying intelligence:

"Walter White, a Negro for the Society for Advancement of Colored People, will speak in Jackson early in November. White would not have dared do this 10 years ago, but our complacency has shown the Negro that aggressiveness might pay off."

Jones' letter was effective. Many Mississippi leaders who were, perhaps, a little complacent, leaped to the oars when they realized that a Negro had the audacity to make a public speech in Jackson.

The South's professional bigots, some in the business for money but most for political advantage, perked up their ears. Within a year, there were Citizens Councils in every Southern state.

In many communities the organizing was so intense it bordered on blackmail. Business men were special targets, threatened with boycott and the scorching Southern brand of "nigger lover" if they balked. But the so-called "best people" in town jumped in, too. Grover Hall, editor of the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser, at first tough on the Councils but now very wary of their power, said:

"I was surprised to learn that most of the fellows at the best country club here were members."

How a Chapter Is Organized

Seldom were the Council chapters started by local folks, however. An imported organizer usually addressed the first gathering. State Sen. Walter Givhan did yeoman's service in this respect in Alabama. Typical of this was his organization of the Council at Linden, Ala.

There was excitement in the air as 400 gathered in the little rural courtroom. Most of the men were farmers, in overalls. Here and there you saw a "town fellow," in slacks and open-necked sport shirt.

Givhan boomed:

"The NAACP goal is to open the bedroom doors of our white women to the Negro men."

He warned against letting the Negro vote:

"County boards shouldn't be registering Negroes. More and more Negroes are registering. Why, even in Dallas County we have 250 registered, I am sorry to say."

Givhan's brother, John, told his enthralled audience not to permit any white man to refuse to join, declaring:

"Just ask them if they want to see their daughter marry a nigger. I think they'll see the light then."

One farmer climbed haltingly to his feet and asked, with a tremor in his voice:

"I'm for this thing, but I've got a question. I'm a working man and I work with niggers. When they find out I'm a member, they may slack off in the work and leave it on my shoulders. What do I do about that?"

A voice from the rear shouted: "Knock the black nigger in the head with a brick."

But another man rose and said more calmly:

"I'll answer you this way. The morning after the White Citizens Councils organize here the nigger in Marengo County will be a different nigger. You won't have no trouble then."

And that was the last word of doubt. The farmers shouted overwhelmingly their desire to organize. They were told to come back next week and learn who the nominating committee would propose as officers. No one remembered to tell them who was on the nominating committee. They left the meeting happy, exhilarated and confident.

This failure to identify the

of the hate sheets are imported, and many are anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and anti-everything else.

One is a ridiculous item entitled, "Prominent Kingstree Negro Makes Frank Statement." It turns out, of course, that this "prominent Kingstree Negro" loves segregation and subservience, but was almost taken in by the Yankee atheist Marxist gold before he saw the light.

The attempts to nationalize the Councils have not met with much success. John U. Barr, a retired New Orleans business man with a passion for any cause to the right of slavery, first made the pitch.

Next the Mississippi Councils, as father of their Coventry, tried and did, indeed, form a national association with headquarters in Greenwood, Miss. But local politicians in the various states are loath to surrender their organizations to a national group, even of like ideology, and so the Councils remain largely autonomous.

And the 'Take' Is Pretty Good

Besides, the Councils are doing rather comfortably in the financial department. They can't increase their dues because they depend too heavily upon the poor Southern farmer. So any national group would siphon funds from the state organization.

There's about \$2,000,000 in the Council tills for 1956—\$1,500,000 in dues and another \$500,000 for subscriptions to the Council newspapers whose funds are kept apart. The Council's figures show 80,000 paying \$240,000 in Alabama, 20,000 paying \$60,000 in Arkansas, 5,000 paying \$15,000 in Florida, 40,000 paying \$200,000 in Louisiana, 80,000 paying \$400,000 in Mississippi, 20,000 paying \$60,000 in North Carolina, 30,000 paying \$50,000 in South Carolina, 25,000 paying \$75,000 in Texas and 15,000 paying \$45,000 in Virginia.

There are no figures for Georgia and Tennessee, although member-

ships are very large in certain sectors of those states.

In some counties of the South membership is almost 100 per cent among the whites. In others, only a small, select group is permitted to join. But in almost every county the Council holds veto power over the public officials, since the damnation of "nigger lover" would mean certain political death.

A few professionals, like John Kasper and Asa (Ace) Carter, have set up in the Council business. But mostly there's little lifting from the treasury. For politicians, the interest is capture of the vote, rather than bald money making.

Nevertheless, the Councils do have their profiteers. For example, a man who was an \$80-a-week linotype operator on an Alabama newspaper two years ago wormed into the Council hierarchy and snared the contract to print the Council's 100,000 newspapers. It alone formed the base for him to launch a printing business, which is now booming; he drives a long white Cadillac and seldom goes near a linotype any more.

Some of the more ambitious racist boys in the South are rushing West to Texas. John Ben Shephard, Texas' attorney general, has warned local prospectors of this in an amazingly frank letter. It seems that much of the Texas hate money is free again, now that McCarthyism has died. The cash is waiting for a new cause, and the Councilmen and Ku Klux Klansmen are stamped in a gold rush.

This sort of thing dispels the claim of the "better people" that the Councils are merely a protective organization to preserve the South from an overrunning Negro.

But, as one dissenter said: "Protective organization? What stronger protection do we need than the one we've got—a white government, with white judges and white juries?"

TOMORROW: The Men Behind the Councils.

nominating committee in Marengo County, Ala., was no oversight. Although it takes pains to point out it's not a secret organization, the Citizens Council nevertheless nurses many secrets, even from its own membership.

The printed brochure, supplied by the Mississippi Councils to guide those wishing to organize local units, specifically urged very few general membership meetings ("two or three a year") and concentrating the power in the hands of the Board of Directors. Speeches from the floor are discouraged at all meetings. When the Councils from throughout the South held a national meeting in New Orleans last April, reporters were told:

"We have been instructed to give no information to anyone."

When a second national meeting was held in Jackson, Miss., three months ago, Louisiana's State Sen. W. M. Rainach told reporters they could not attend nor get any announcements.

"It's not a secret meeting, but Sears doesn't tell Montgomery Ward all its business, does it?"

But the members don't seem to mind. With units spread throughout the South, and with governors, former governors, judges and many distinguished citizens on the Boards of Directors, the Councils began spitting forth a deluge of propaganda.

They print their own newspapers, which nag the race issue to ludicrous extremes. One even demanded to know why Sgt. Joe Friday never catches a Negro crook on TV's "Dragnet." Some

file

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Nease	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

file 105-34737

DIXIE DYNAMITE

The Inside Story of the

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS

file

BAUMGARDNER

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P. 4 NIGHT EXTRA

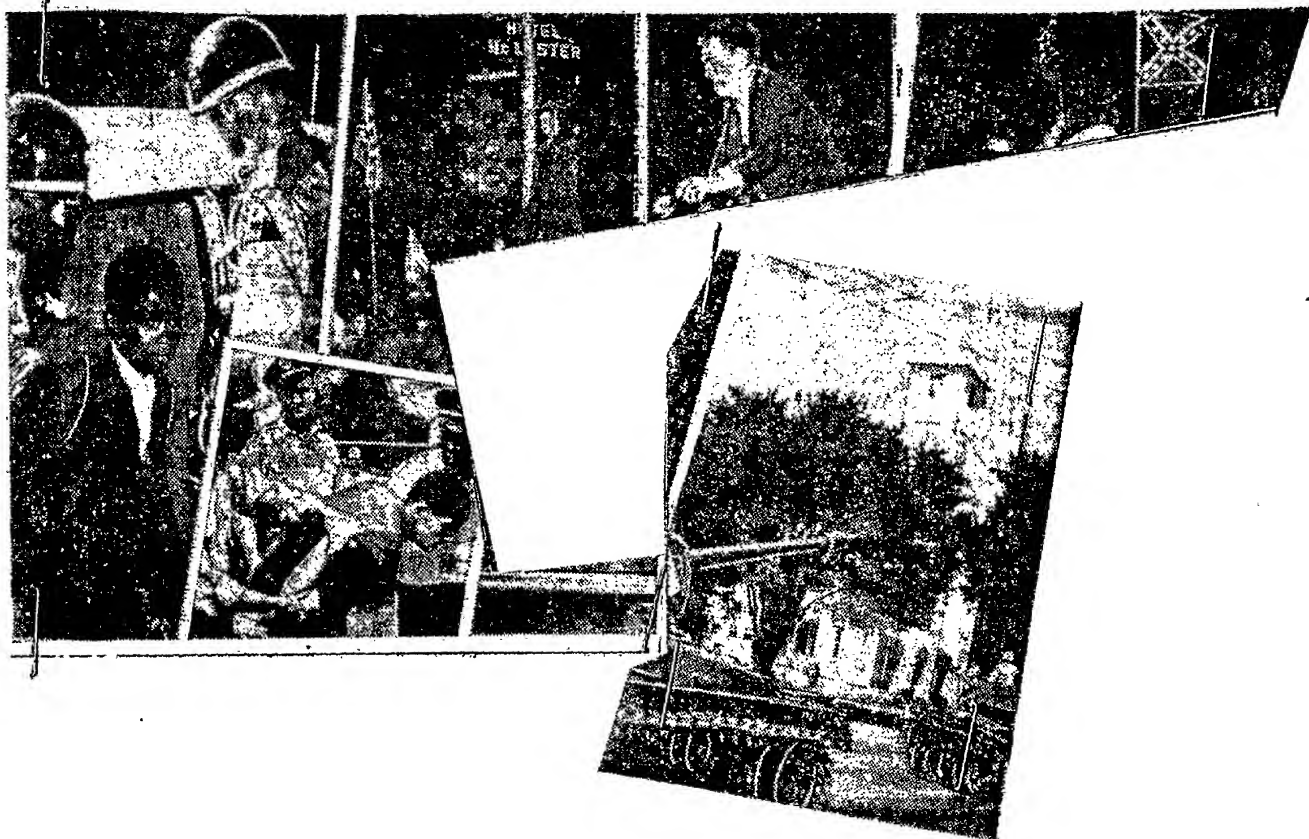
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By STAN KOPOTOWSKY

Article I

One-fourth of the nation is held captive today by a brigade of bigots whose total domination of the populace can be matched only by the Communist Party within Russia.

Petty politicians quake at its murmur. Businessmen fearfully spurn disapproved patronage. Ministers surrender the sanctity of the pulpit. School teachers pale at the most timorous plea for academic freedom. A lawyer faces disbarment for a chance remark which ran contrary to the code.

The brigade is a loose federation called the White Citizens Councils, spread throughout the South. Its avowed purpose is to battle the principle and practice of integration, and to crush all—Negro and white—who dare advocate the colored man's rights.

But its actual purposes, a five-week on-the-scene inquiry shows, are many more:

- QTo elect the "right" candidate,
- QTo maintain cheap labor,
- QTo eliminate a gnawing business competitor,
- QTo protect a shaky job,
- QTo make a few fast bucks.

The success of this movement is staggering. It collects about \$2,000,000 a year in dues, and does not account for one penny to its members. It induces Jews to belong to an anti-Semitic organization; it pressures Catholics into joining an anti-Catholic organization. Even its enemies live in such terror that they literally beg not to be identified publicly, lest they be socially and financially ruined in a matter of months.

The Councils started, as you might guess, in Mississippi's bleak Sunflower County, which has given the world Sen. James O. Eastland. But it was not Eastland who started the Council. It was the plantation owners and their bankers, who feared that a Negro demanding political rights soon would start dabbling in other matters which might endanger the pseudo-slave sharecropper system.

The first meeting was secret. But The Post got from the Coun-



JOHN KASPER
Violence in Clinton

cil's confidential files the text of the very first speech. And in it, banker Herman Moore makes this very frank admission:

"The best thing, we think, is to put him (the Negro) right where we have stayed for 30 years and keep him guessing."

On that warm note, the Councils began spreading across the South until now there are units in every state below the Mason-Dixon line. They disgorge generous mailings of hate propaganda,

much of it anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic as well as anti-Negro. They operate a total political censorship over local candidates for every office.

One Council candidate recently got elected tax collector in Alabama solely on his promise to prevent integration in the local high school. He never explained what a tax collector could do for or against integration, and nobody (not even his opponents) bothered to ask him.

Jelly Beans And Votes

The Councils have made a special point of snuffing out the dangers of the Negro as a political force. Many of their units have committees which check the voting registration, and purge it of Negroes through loss of job or naked threats of violence. Mississippi, with the nation's largest Negro population, has 13 counties without a single Negro voter, and nine more with less than six Negro voters. Lowndes County in Alabama has a population of 27,000 Negroes and 3,000 whites; yet no Negro votes.

In Birmingham one woman voting registrar is so bold that she has a jar of jelly beans on her desk. When a Negro seeks to register, he's told he can do so only if he guesses the number of beans in the jar—and none ever has.

"Gonna count those beans myself some day," she chuckles.

In Yazoo City, Miss., Negroes signing an integration petition not only lost their own jobs; all members of their family—even those who refused to sign the petition—also were fired. In Sumter, S. C., a Negro contractor was put out of business overnight because he refused to resign from the NAACP.

But although these pressures upon Negroes by the Councils are well-known, there's a less publicized but even greater danger in the South. The whites, too, are subjected to the same terror.

Continued on Page 32

Continued from Page 4

if they dare stray from the most rigid segregation line. The domination is total.

There is no middle ground, no shade of gray. Only black and white. And woe betide the black! "Stand up and be counted" is the rallying cry at each Council organizing meeting, and once, in Alabama, a newspaper reporter who didn't stand up simply because he was writing at the press bench was lifted bodily by two burly rednecks.

"You better stand, too, son, just so's it's unanimous," one said.

Business men are badgered by delegations to join up, or face boycotts. Ministers are booted from their jobs without ceremony if they protest.

The United Fund in New Orleans was all but wrecked when the White Citizens Council began screaming that some of the moneys collected would go to the Negro Urban League; and even though the Urban League withdrew from the fund rather than wreck it, the city found itself desperately trying to collect \$3,000,000 while Houston, of comparable size and economy, zipped to \$4,000,000 in collections without trouble.

Trouble and More Trouble

The state legislatures are a fertile playground for the racists, and the hoppers of the South are spilling over with legislation aimed at keeping the Negro "in his place." Most of it is sponsored by Citizens Councils.

In Louisiana State Sen. W. O. Rainach, one of the titular heads of the WCC, sponsored a bill so sweeping that it would prevent the performance of "Porgy & Bess" (because Negroes and whites would appear on the same stage); it has killed off New Orleans' baseball spring training schedule (no Negroes and whites on the same ball field); and it even renders illegal the annual meeting of the Red Cross (no Negroes and whites attending the same meeting).

The Council tries to worm its members into every spot they can be heard. W. H. Till, a Council chieftain, tried to force his way into the Clinton, Tenn., Parent-Teachers Assn. although he was not bred in Clinton, does not live in Clinton, does not work in Clinton and has no children attending school in Clinton.

"I'm just interested in schools," he said.

If there's no trouble, the Councils will make it. When Montgomery's whites displayed resigned acceptance of integrated buses, the Citizens Council head began bombarding the newspapers with reports of Negro men "winking" at white women as they sat side by side. When Birmingham's buses were momen-

tarily integrated to set up a court fight, the local Council announced it would put "minute men" on the buses to enforce segregation.

And when Tallahassee Negroes bucked segregation, the Council, not satisfied with a pro-segregation city administration, demanded that the governor halt the bus service. He did, too, the very next day, although he insisted his action could not be traced to Council pressure.

The Councils leave no avenue unexplored. In Mississippi the Monroe County White Citizens Council actually demanded that Southern Bell segregate the telephones; it objected to whites being on the same party lines as Negroes.

At their inception, the Councils made much of the fact that the "best people" would be in power, and that "rabble rousers" therefore could not capture control of the people who faced the spectre of Negroes sitting next to whites in a classroom. The Councils would prevent violence, rather than foment it, so the tract went.

But someone forgot to tell John Kasper. He arrived at Clinton, Tenn., with \$6 in his pocket and an idea: whoop it up, get the Council business going and capture the whole movement. His agitation led to a week-end of riots, martial law in the town, the savage daylight beating of a Baptist minister.

And no one explained the strategy to Asa (Ace) Carter, either. His North Alabama Citizens Council sparked the mob which sought to attack Autherine Lucy on the University of Alabama campus and also inspired the attack upon singer Nat (King) Cole on a Birmingham stage.

But it is true that most Citizens Councils' heads are against such naked violence. They are after more serious business. Except for the paltry dues collected from wrought-up hillbillies, when their minds are more on their manufactured furor than tomorrow's groceries, there's not much money in rioting.

But what if you can assure defeat of the union movement in a big plant? Labor organizing in the South has been stymied by the Council propaganda. In Charleston, S. C., a union was assured of 80 per cent membership and called for an NLRB election. Two days before the election the Council stepped in.

It distributed leaflets among the workers which said, among other things, "The AFL-CIO gives money to the NAACP so your child will have to go to school with niggers." That killed off the unionization of the plant. The white workers voted overwhelmingly against the union.

The KKK Dusts Off Its Bed Sheets

With the people worked up as they are, it was inevitable that the Ku Klux Klan would simultaneously rise from the dead. Today it runs rampant through Georgia, South Carolina and sections of Florida and Alabama in open defiance of anti-Klan laws. The Klan does not claim the niceties which the Councils wear as their mantle. They're back to flogging again: a Camden, S. C. music professor was whipped two weeks ago because someone thought he favored integration.

The heads of the Klan are out for money. Far from being the so-called "best" people of the community, their leadership has a generous sprinkling of criminal records.

The FBI is watching the Klan. Its chiefs are much more violent than their Council brothers. They are led by convicted criminals. And there is the danger that they can be employed, for a reasonable fee, to manufacture trouble

when the career racists fear the interest of the proletariat is waning.

The Klan's financial success might be belittled. But when 16 agitators were arrested at Clinton, the only man to get out of jail immediately, despite the very high bail, was the Klan's grand kleagle, although he had been unemployed for months. Even the business owners among the remainder needed several hours to raise their bond and sulked behind bars overnight.

The Game of Racist Politics

The great motivating drive behind the Councils now is political. Southern politicians long have run on the race issue, but for decades it was a fragile thing because the people could see no real threat. The Supreme Court public school decision changed all that. Now the people sat—fearful, generations of poison churning deep within them—waiting to be stirred up.

They didn't have to wait very long.

There was Marvin Griffin, who has only a sorry term as Georgia's governor to offer as his candidacy for the U. S. Senate. There was Sam Engelhart, who had been a petty Alabama politician discouragingly long. There was Leander Perez, a Louisiana dictator with previous experience in finding the "mongrelization of the races" imminent whenever he was in political trouble. There was a Judge Ralston Schoolfield, who was badly beaten in one try for Tennessee's governorship and needed a new gimmick.

These are the men who work most skillfully at the Citizens Council business. These are the men who travel the breadth of the South to address its rallies. They've got their objective, and they've got their vehicle.

They pursue their quarry relentlessly, and their quarry is not really the Negro. The local Councils handle the Negro very well. There aren't many Southern Negroes who can afford to miss one paycheck, much less several.

The big boys are after the people—the white people—who might dare suggest that all of this panic could be unjustified, that maybe a Negro child can attend a white class without mass rape on the schoolhouse lawn, and that maybe the men crying loudest about integration are really worried about something altogether different.

The politicians' technique is simple. Chase the offender into the corner, crush him and keep stomping, long after he's dead, until a new dissenter appears. They were still canceling the license of an offending Georgia school teacher months after she had quit her job and even moved out of the state.

Many men become active in the Citizens Councils for the most obvious reasons. There's a Mississippi grocer, who was lukewarm on race baiting until he noticed a Negro competitor was garnering the bulk of the neighborhood trade. There's the white manager of a Negro housing project who became a rabid Council speaker when he overheard two disgruntled residents saying maybe a Negro ought to be managing a Negro project.

The motives are many. But they all add up to today's result: a fourth of our nation timorously living under the vengeful eye of the White Citizens Councils, never daring to offend.

The White Citizens Councils govern the South.

TOMORROW: A Secret Meeting Starts It All.

AFFAIRS OF STATE

By CHARLES M. HILLS



BIG FUND, BIG DEBT

State Treasurer R. D. (Bob) Morrow reported the year-end balance in the state's coffers at \$49,186,206.48, as of Dec. 1.

The report, made Wednesday morning, shows \$16,168,898.52 in the general fund. However, there will be a call on Jan. 15 for some \$9,500,000 of this for quarterly payments to the minimum education foundation fund. Then, there will in March be a call for nearly \$5,000,000 for home-
stead exemptions payments.

There is a special fund balance of \$33,017,307.96 which is earmarked for various departments such as the game and fish commission, the rural roads program and so on.

Apparently, the sizable general fund balance will be expended before banking agencies in the state can get much chance to handle.

OFF TO CHICAGO

One of the most efficient state heads of a department, Dick Dorman, of the State Motor Vehicle Comptroller's office, is resigning.

Mr. Dorman is to take a job with a Chicago firm at a neat increase in salary.

He has not yet turned in his pink slip, but will do so very shortly, we are told.

Head of the butane gas department of the comptroller's office for several years, young Dorman has a host of friends throughout the state who will regret to learn he is changing jobs, but agree that promotion is warranted.

The young man is also a song leader at Northside Baptist Church and our congregation here will greatly miss him and his wife also.

PATROL STATION

Rep. Corbet Lee Patridge, of

Leflore county, conferred with Gov. Coleman here Wednesday on prospects for setting up a new highway patrol sub-station building at Greenwood.

He tells that the present station is situated in an old building several miles out of town, which is inadequate.

Patridge has secured the cooperation of the board of supervisors for erection of a \$25,000 new structure for the patrol. The district headquarters will serve not only Leflore but other counties, and will be patterned

after the station now operating at Batesville.

He says he has an option to buy a lot at \$8,000 on the four-lane new highway into Greenwood, and hopes the State Building Commission will cooperate in this purchase.

EMANCIPATION???

Did Lincoln fail?

The Great Emancipator has been credited long since with freeing the Negro slaves. In fact, slavery is so far past that none living today can personally recall it.

So, it is with some surprise that we note a handbill this morn advertising an "Emancipation Progress Conference" to be held here Thursday morn-
ing.

The president of the Nashville, Tenn., NAACP, Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, is to be the principal speaker Thursday night

SOLICITATIONS

The Mississippi White Citizens Council is opening a New Year with an appeal for funds. The following letter is being sent out to members:

SUBJECT: Continuing the Fight TO: Those Interested in Helping

Congressman Arthur Winstead is quoted as saying that "the present segregation controversy will be a dead issue within the next five or six years." He further predicted that "Mississippi and other Southern states will retain segregation as long as the people will fight for it."

We have every reason to believe that, due to the fight we have already made, non-Southerners, many thousands of them,

understand our position. And, we have not the slightest doubt but what our future efforts will increase our support in other sections. Eventually we will win.

We are going to need money, lots of it. Hope you can see fit to help by sending us your check for \$100, or more. Less if you feel this is more than you can afford.

Make your check payable to Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils, Incorporated. This will, our auditors say, make your contribution deductible.

Thanks!

Yours very truly,
Ellett Lawrence
Finance Chairman

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FBI - NEW ORLEANS	

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.

1/3/57

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Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Nichols
 Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. Parsons
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Tamm
 Mr. Trotter
 Mr. Nease
 Tele. Room
 Mr. Holloman
 Miss Gandy

SOUTHERNER PROTESTS

Brooks of Louisiana Asks
 F. B. I. End Inquiries There

SHREVEPORT, La., Dec. 10 (UP) — Representative Overton Brooks has sent a telegram to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. demanding that the Justice Department quit treating the South "like a conquered province."

The Louisiana Democrat said today he had asked the Attorney General to halt investigations of white Citizens Council members in Louisiana's northern parishes by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

He said the Justice Department had not laid "a proper foundation for such activity" and that Federal agents had investigated sheriffs, state legislators, district attorneys and many others "whose records as law-abiding people have never been questioned."

The Justice Department, he told Mr. Brownell, "must quit treating this section of the nation like a conquered province and must treat us like a co-equal state that we are."

DEC 11 1950

BY. TH.

DEC 11 1950

Brownell Forcing Contempt Of White Southerners For Federal Agents

Herbert Brownell, Tom Dewey's Attorney General, and the race mixers have turned the FBI into nothing but a political gestapo.

This is quite a comedown for the FBI which has been considered by the American people to be an impartial organization for the protection of the people themselves.

Every day it is being changed into more of a gestapo.

J. Edgar Hoover for many years fought a valiant fight to keep his bureau of investigation out of such channels.

And now he has succumbed and is attempting to set up a secret police force as dangerous to the rights and liberties of the American people as that of Hitler's gestapo or Stalin's NKVD.

FBI Been Degraded

The most recent instance is the use of the FBI to control the protests of the decent white people of Clinton, Tennessee.

The FBI has been degraded in the eyes of the American people. From now on, the FBI will be considered the enemies of the people of the South. From now on the FBI will have the contempt of the decent white people of the South.

From now on confidence in the FBI is gone.

From now on any member of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is an enemy of the decent, liberty-loving white people of the South.

Brownell's Habit

But this isn't the first time Herbert Brownell has perverted the FBI.

It was only a few months ago that practically every Congressman from Georgia denounced the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its efforts to create trouble in Cobb County, Georgia.

Some official of the NAACP complained that there weren't enough Negroes on the juries in Cobb County. So, a whole swarm of FBI agents swooped down on the City of Marietta and started investigating the officials of the State of Georgia.

Too Hot For FBI Boys

They should have been run out of the state for invading the sovereignty of the State of Georgia and its officials. Yet, after all of the publicity and after all of the hurly-burly mess they created, the FBI labored and the mountain gave birth to a mouse.

The resentment of the people of Georgia and Georgia's delegation in the Congress was so bitter and so vitriolic until the FBI couldn't stand the pressure.

So, instead of criticizing the officials of Cobb County as they were supposed to do they succumbed to public opinion and like the Arabs quietly folded their tents and stole away in the night.

FBI Working For GOP

Recently, they have been dabbling in Louisiana worse than they dabbled at Marietta, Georgia.

Senator W. M. Rainach of Summerfield, Louisiana, accused the Department of Justice of using the FBI in an attempt to build a "black Republican party in the South".

Senator Rainach is Secretary of the Citizens Councils of Louisiana and in an effort to break up the Citizens Councils, an Army of FBI people have been combing Louisiana trying to intimidate Council members.

Rainach said that he and State Representative John S. Garrett of Haynesville had been questioned by FBI agents concerning a meeting of the Citizens Councils in Grant Parish in Louisiana. These FBI agents questioned other members of the council trying to determine what took place at a Citizens Council meeting.

Would Purge Voting Rolls

Senator Rainach and his Citizens Council group have been waging a campaign to purge the voting rolls in Louisiana of persons who are on the rolls illegally.

As a result of their campaign and the purging of these rolls it has been discovered that large blocks of ignorant, unqualified Negroes are on the voting list.

When these facts were brought to the attention of the officials of these counties a lot of these illegal voters have been removed from the rolls.

This caused consternation in Washington and the FBI swooped down upon the leaders of the Citizens Councils of Louisiana.

Tolson _____
Nichols _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Mason _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

BAUMGARTNER

ton and the FBI swooped down upon the leaders of the Citizens Councils of Louisiana.

Washington Conspiracy

This caused Senator Rainach to say that the investigation of the FBI results from the "vast conspiracy in Washington by high officials of the U. S. Department of Justice to nullify the voice of the South in the national political arena."

Senator Rainach says the immediate object of the FBI investigation is to force him and his assistants in the Citizens Council from purging the voting rolls of the illegal and ignorant voters in Louisiana.

"It is an obvious attempt by certain radical Republicans to build a black Republican party in the South, similar to the one which plundered and ravished the South during the Reconstruction," he said.

Republican Trickery

"These radical Republicans recognize that their only practical means of gaining political control of the South is by manipulation of large blocs of ignorant, unqualified Negro voters whose voting privilege would be entirely dependent on Washington."

Spokesman for the radical group is Warren Olney III, assistant attorney general, said Rainach.

N. Y. Times _____
Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
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The Worker _____
New Leader _____

The Augusta Courier
Augusta Ga.
Date 12/24/56

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"In his position as head of the criminal division of the Department of Justice," he said, "Olney has diverted agents from their regularly assigned duties and used them to harrass anyone that local Negro politicians or their white bosses complain about to Washington.

Olney Makes Threats

"Olney himself has made repeated threats to prosecute all of the segregation leaders in the South on charges of conspiring to deprive Negroes of their right to vote."

He said this procedure would be calculated to further intimidate the opponents of this plot.

Parishes in which the FBI agents have operated, Rainach said, include Bienville, Lincoln, Ouachita, Union, Grant, Jackson and Rapides.

He said the agents have come from Jackson, Miss., New Orleans and in some cases from the Shreveport FBI office.

Raps FBI Tactics

Rainach said that among those who have been questioned are some of the state's foremost citizens and these citizens are objecting strongly to the FBI tactics.

"Instead of aiding those who are violating our laws," he said, "the Justice Department should be assisting those who

are encouraging law enforcement and spending its time investigating organizations that are trying to destroy the government of our country, such as the Communist party and the NAACP."

So, the FBI now becomes nothing but a gestapo in the hands of ruthless politicians who are bent and determined on staying in office.

Union Parish Group Protests— State Attorney General Hits FBI Citizens Probe

Louisiana's attorney general today backed up a call for the state's Congressional delegation to joint a concerted protest against the FBI's probe of Citizens Councils and their members.

Meanwhile, 53 prominent Union Parish citizens have gone on record protesting "interference, intimidation and harassment of the people" caused by the investigation of the councils' role in removing voters from registration rolls.

To date, there have been no reports that the FBI has investigated Shreveport or Caddo Parish citizens. It is known to have conducted investigations in Bossier, Bienville, Lincoln, Union, Jackson, Ouachita, Grant, Rapides and De Soto Parishes, however.

Both Sheriff J. Howell Flournoy and Police Chief Harvey Teasley said they haven't been approached so far by any G-men in connection with the probe.

Flournoy is a Citizens Council member himself. He joined the local council when it was organized several months ago after Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia spoke here in its behalf.

And in Monroe today, a federal grand jury ended its weeklong investigation of civil rights in North

Louisiana areas with a no true bill. The Union Parishers Saturday telegraphed Rep. Otto E. Passman and Sens. Allen J. Ellender and Russell B. Long, calling on each to make public their positions toward the inquiry which has been going on for the last several weeks in north and central Louisiana.

Jack P. F. Gremillion, the attorney general, reached in New Orleans where he is attending a meeting of the State Pardons Board, told the Journal he is in accord with recommendations of Ragan Madden of Ruston for full backing of the congressional delegation and Southern governors to stop the FBI probe.

Calls for Action.

Madden, district attorney for the 3rd judicial district, declared that the congressmen can't sit back and rest on their signing of the Southern Manifesto. He called for action now.

Gremillion said he was not pre-

See FBI PROBE, Page 4-A

FBI PROBE

From Page One

pared to comment at length on the situation at this time, explaining that he knew only what he read in the newspapers, but might issue a statement "at the appropriate time."

He said he is "thoroughly in accord with protecting every citizens' rights" whether it be at the state or federal level.

Congressman Passman called the Justice Department investigation "just a part of the big Republican show. I warned in 1952 that it would happen and I repeated the warning this year."

"Morally," he continued, "there is no justification for the action—legally I don't know."

Passman pledged to do everything in his power to "have the rights of the states and its duly elected officials respected and protected."

"If it is an infringement on states' rights, I will do all I can to intervene," said Senator Ellender. He agreed that "qualification of voters is absolutely a matter for the state and the federal government has no right."

"If a person is legally qualified to vote and is arbitrarily removed from the rolls," Ellender said, "there may be a question of civil rights violation." He added he was not entirely familiar with what was going on in the Justice Department investigations.

"Little can be done for the next four years," Passman predicted. He said his Republican colleagues in Washington "actually believe because Louisiana went Republican in November, the people here have accepted the Republican movement for integration."

On the local front, Rep. Overton Brooks, who Saturday wired U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell calling for immediate cessation of the FBI questioning, has hinted that unless it is called off, he will bring the matter out on the House floor when Congress convenes in January.

Brooks said today he has received several telephone calls, including one long distance call, commending him for his action. Constituents with whom he has talked in the last few days also have applauded his stand in informing Brownell of the indignation of the citizens toward the inquiries.

The congressman complained, "Whether intended or not, these investigations are harassing our people and brow-beating our public officials. Unless reasonable suspicion of wrong-doing exists, these investigations have no place in our system of government and should be stop."

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Parsons ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tamm ☒
Mr. Trotter ☒
Mr. Nease ☒
Mr. Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Holloman ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

The Shreveport Journal

Shreveport, La.

Dec. 10, 1956

Page 1; Col. 5, 6.

208-411-700

Pair Protest FBI Probe

BENTON.—A state official and a North Louisiana GOP leader have joined the protest against the reported FBI probe into a voter registration cleanup campaign by White Citizens' Councils in the South.

State Rep. Ford Stinson, Bossier Parish, challenged the Justice Dept.'s authority to investigate until a charge is filed by an individual.

Shreveport Republican L. Calhoun Allen, Jr., unsuccessful candidate for Congress in the November general election, advised Citizens' Council members to call in reporters and attorneys to witness interviews when they are approached by FBI agents.

The FBI is reportedly investigating White Citizens' Council members on charges of depriving qualified Negroes of their right to vote.

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TOP CLIPPING
Shreveport, La.

NEW ORLEANS ITEM
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D. A. Battles FBI Probe Of Councils

SHREVEPORT, La. (AP) — District Attorney Regan Madden of the Third District said last night state and Southern congressional leaders "should take steps toward stopping this FBI investigation" of Citizens' Council activities in North Louisiana.

Madden was one of several North Louisiana officials polled by the Shreveport Times. Others also opposed the probe.

The Times said FBI agents had entered many parishes and questioned law officers and prominent citizens concerning the pro-segregation White Citizens' Councils.

'Cannot Sit Back'

Madden told the newspaper: "Our congressmen cannot sit back and rest solely upon their signing of the manifesto. We need positive action and we need it now."

Others voicing opposition to the probe included Rep. Ford E. Stinson of Bossier, Rep. E. D. Gleason of Minden, Sen. Jackson B. Davis of Shreveport and Herman Jones of Minden and A. Calhoun Allen, Republican who unsuccessfully opposed Rep. Overton Brooks (D-La.) in the last general election.

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INDEXED-50

Sheriff Of Bossier Is Questioned

The background and character of every Citizen Council director in Bossier Parish is coming under the scrutiny of the FBI in its investigation of the councils' role in the registration clean-up drive, it was learned today.

Sheriff Willie Waggoner said an FBI agent called on him about three weeks ago to furnish detailed information on each of these citizens.

He identified the agent as Zack Van Landingham of the Shreveport FBI office.

Waggoner said that the agent came armed with a list of all directors of every council in Bossier.

State Rep. Ford Stinson of Benton was one of those about whom he inquired. The sheriff gave the G-man the rundown on the legislator—his occupation, religious faith, whether or not he had a criminal record and so forth.

Van Landingham wanted the same type of information on each "suspect"—if that's what these citizens, many of them regarded as leading citizens in the state and locality, might be called—in the probe.

Stinson, for one, takes a dim view of the whole thing. "They've (the FBI) got very little to do when they run around like this when they've got so many Communists

★ SHERIFF

From Page One

they could be checking on," he declared.

If a complaint had been filed against an individual, that would be one thing, Stinson said. "But I don't think they should take it upon themselves to go out and investigate an organization that has not been classified as subversive."

An agent hasn't been to see Stinson yet but if and when he does, the legislator vows "no interview until they can show me why." He said he'd feel the same way if he were questioned about his membership in the Methodist church, the Lions or the American Legion.

"If the organization had been classified as un-American or Communist, I'd be the first one to help them get rid of it," Stinson remarked.

The sheriff said the agent had obtained information from some one else on the council directors in Bossier City and Haughton and he supplied the data on the units at Benton and Plain Dealing.

What's he think of the whole thing? Waggoner replies, "I don't care if they check on me from now on out." He added that the agent "was just as nice a fellow as could be."

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
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Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

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See SHERIFF, Page 4-A

SHREVEPORT JOURNAL
SHREVEPORT, LA.
12/7/56
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IN THE NEGRO PRESS

One Paper Holds for Adlai; South Warned on Rights

THE CHICAGO DEFENDER, the only paper among the "Big Ten" Negro newspapers to support the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket, runs in its "National Grapevine" column excerpts from a recorded speech by Rep. Adam C. Powell last May 24 in Madison Square Garden. According to the Defender's tape recorder, Powell said, among other things:

"Here is a man (Eisenhower) of good moral instincts completely separated from the people . . . The forces of reactionary obstructionists—White Citizens Councils have reached out through the tentacles of his own palace guard and stopped Eisenhower's progress toward making this nation one people. . . . Every force today is being used by Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats to hold back democracy and to nullify the Supreme Court decision . . . to interpose jimerow the people and equality. . . ."

It is "stranger than fiction," the Defender comments, that "this is what Powell publicly stated just five months ago about the name he is now stumping the country for. . . ."

THE NORFOLK JOURNAL AND GUIDE in a front-page editorial again calls for a Re-

publican vote, contending that this is the way to "set free to a large extent those (liberal) Democrats who are not in sympathy with the destructive course upon which their party leaders have embarked."

The editorial starts out with arguments against "states rights," attaching this to the Democrats. (Obviously the editorial was written before President Eisenhower declared in both Miami and Richmond for states rights last week.)

THE BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN runs an effectively striking editorial cartoon portraying a surly, baldheaded man, labeled "White Councils," holding a shot gun marked "Southern Justice," jeering in the direction of the Statue of Liberty on the horizon, shouting:

"Stay up North Where You BELONG!"

The Afro also leads editorially with a call for a Republican Congress. This, says the editor, is "the only way to keep men like (James O.) Eastland, (Hermon) Talmadge and (Rep. Howard) Smith (D-Va) out of the chairmanship of key Senate and House Committees."

The Afro also reveals editorially that two Negro witnesses in

the Tallahassee Bus Protest case came close to being cited for contempt of court because they prefixed "Mr. and Mrs." to the names of Negroes when on the witness stand and did not add, "Sir" to their answers to the prosecutor's questions. Both Mrs. Laura Flucus and John Yayne, the Afro informs, were held by City Judge John Rudd who "lectured them 'on court manners'."

On the other hand, the Afro points out, the judge addressed Mrs. Flucus as "Laura" and Payne as "John," adding: "He (Judge Rudd) would have been in a better position to demand respect if he . . . had displayed it by addressing these witnesses with the usual courtesy he would have accorded them had they been of a different color."

THE AMSTERDAM NEWS, although we knew it all along, made it official by front-paging its editorial supporting the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket. On the local candidates, however, the A. N. showed a decided preference for Democratic candidates below the rank of U. S. Senator. Its lone Republican choice is Miguel Rivera who is opposing the incumbent Democratic Governor Maresca.—A. W. B.

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
 Wash. News _____
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 N. Y. Mirror _____
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 Daily Worker 5 ✓
 The Worker _____
 New Leader _____

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NOV 9 1956

CITIZENS COUNCILMEN GIVE VICTORY BLUEPRINT

A four-point "blueprint for victory" was outlined here Friday by Citizens' Council representatives from 10 states and a timetable was established for placing the plan into effect.

W. L. Simmons, of Jackson, administrator of the Mississippi Association of Citizens' Councils and editor of the organization paper, listed the four points as follows:

1. Sharp counterattack, already well underway, against the NAACP and other radical race-mixing groups.

2. Encourage the people to organize to protect and preserve their separate schools, other social institutions and personal rights and liberties.

3. Assert the invocation of interposition by the states to guard and recover their sovereign rights from unconstitutional federal invasion.

FORCEFUL PRESENTATION.

Present forcefully and accurately at the national level and through all modern methods the cause of constitutional govern-

ment and freedom of personal association.

"The Citizens' Councils of America," Mr. Simmons said, "looks forward to a complete reversal of the contrived trend toward a raceless, classless society. Progress to date indicates that a revulsion of public opinion, already set in, combined with a powerful movement, will bring victory within a relatively few years."

The Citizens' Council leaders, upon authorization of the executive committee, adopted a proposal to make the Mississippi Citizens' Council paper the official publication of the national organization. It was also agreed to establish temporary headquarters at Greenwood with Robert Patterson as secretary.

500,000 MEMBERS

The Citizens' Councils of America will function as a coordinating and planning agency among the several state associations, Mr. Simmons said. The organization has an estimated 400,000 members.

Alabama State Senator Sam Englehardt presided as chairman, succeeding Louisiana State Senator W. M. Ramatch. The group heard reports from the various states covering progress since the New Orleans meeting in April.

Five addresses were heard as follows: Education and Public Relations, Mr. Simmons; Legal Action, W. M. Shaw, Citizens' Council leader in Louisiana and general counsel for the Louisiana Joint Committee on Segregation; Finance, Mr. Patterson; Voter Qualification, Mr. Rainach, president of the Citizens' Councils of Louisiana and chairman of the Louisiana Joint Committee on Segregation; Membership Drive, L. P. Davis, chairman of the Gentilly Area Citizens' Council of New Orleans and director of the Greater New Orleans Citizens' Council with a membership of 35,000.

States represented at the meeting were Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Virginia and Oklahoma.

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In the battle that is ahead the Citizens Councils of Mississippi deserve the fullest possible measure of support and encouragement. A good way to prove your disapproval of integration and your belief in states rights is to join the Citizens Council in your home community. It means, among other things, that you will be mighty good company in this fight for preservation of the Southern way of life.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. Nease _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

C.F.T.V. [Signature]

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149 NOV 19 1956

FREDERICK SULLENS, EDITOR
THE CLARION-LEDGER *
JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

10/28/56

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OCT 30 1956	
FBI — NEW ORLEANS	

YANKEE EDITOR LOOKS AT MISSISSIPPI—IV

KKK in White Cotton Suit

Even Governor Fears Wrath of Citizens' Councils

By ROBERT BARAM

Indianola is the name of a small town in Mississippi. It's important for only one reason . . . the Citizens' Councils were started there.

One well-known Mississippian told me:

"This is where the Citizens' Councils had their birth. This is the Delta, where almost 30 percent of the state's population is bunched. Here is the heart of the Solid South."

I asked, "Just what is this Solid South I keep hearing you mention?"

"Only four states: Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. The rest only try to act like they're from the South."



BARAM

★ ★ ★

"What do you mean the Citizens' Councils had to start here?"

"Look, there are 600,000 people in the Delta, and 400,000 of them are Negroes. Do you realize what would happen if they took over?"

"No, what?"

"We whites wouldn't stand a chance. If you lived down here you'd understand. It's easy for you to look smart, but don't forget we've got the blacks, not you. You know, more than 400,000 have left since 1940. If we could keep that up the problem would be solved."

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I asked the governor about the Citizens' Councils. He said:

"I'm not a member and never have been. The Citizens' Councils movement was brought about by the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the urgency caused by it. The councils will cease when the present issue fades. They have a right to organize. They claim they are opposed to force and violence and are not the same as the Ku Klux Klan."

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When I had an opportunity to speak to other educated whites and Negroes I was given the impression that the Citizens' Councils were nothing less than a refined clan in a white cotton suit.

One deeply concerned prominent Mississippi white brought out a highly confidential paper sent by the Citizens' Councils to its top echelon. He showed it to me and said:

"Look at the words in this report, the ones that say 'don't be

caught by high sounding phrases like brotherly love, democracy, equality and the like. Stand and be counted. Remove anyone who doesn't think as we do."

He continued: "And look at the committee assignments. Take the one in their Political and Elections Committee that says, 'If necessary organize white private elections within our group to combat the Negro bloc vote and discourage Negro registration by every legal means.'"

"There's another interesting one," he added. "The duties of the Legal Advisory Committee include the statement, 'Recommends application of economic pressure to troublemakers.'"

I asked: "How widespread are the Citizens' Councils?" He answered:

"They started in Indianola just a couple of years ago and now they have councils in 11 states. Their confidential report finishes with this note: 'We will be in a position to support any national organization that we feel sanctions our ideals. If all 82 counties in Mississippi and the South organize as we have done, what would our possibilities be?'"

"Are there any leading Mississippi officials in the C.C.'s?"

"The governor may not be a member, but our chief law enforcement officer in the state, Atty. Gen. Joseph Patterson, is a member."

"Why doesn't Gov. Coleman take steps against the Citizens Councils if they are as dangerous as you and others say?"

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
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Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

BAUMGARTNER

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Newspaper: BOSTON GLOBE

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"It would be political suicide for him to do so, and he knows it."

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One of the facets of the trip through Mississippi that interested and bothered many of us from New England was the element of fear that covered the people whom we interviewed. I asked a Negro leader once:

"What is this constant business of looking over your shoulder and checking to see if someone is listening. Is this a game?" He said:

"You wouldn't think it a game if you lived here. When the Citizens' Councils say they will remove agitators, they mean it. And, don't forget that when they say an agitator they mean anyone who says anything that doesn't follow their party line.

"We thought the Klan was bad, but we aren't scared of the white hoods and sheets any longer. But, we are far more afraid of the C.C.'s. They are more insidious than the Klan and do their work in a more refined way."

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I asked a sincere white business man in one city why he belonged to the C.C.'s. He replied:

"I belong because we need an organization to offset the agitators in the N.A.A.C.P. We have many good people in the Citizens' Councils, too . . . people who believe that segregation is the only way of life. Some of us belong to the C.C.'s because we know that if those of us who are level-headed don't belong, the rednecks will take over completely and violence would become common."

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I asked an officer of the Citizens' Council whether he and his organization realized that their actions were grist for the Communist propaganda mill. He laughed and said:

"We're not worried about the Reds; it's the Negroes we've got to keep in their place."

"How long," I asked a Negro, "do you think the Citizens' Councils will continue to operate?"

"As long as they think we Negroes have a chance to get integration in the schools."

When I asked the same question of an officer in the CC's, he replied:

"Until we overturn the Supreme Court decision of 1954. We're going to have a full-time lobby in Congress next session. That is one of our prime targets."

"Isn't your group just like the Klan?" I asked him. His answer:

"Oh, no, we do everything legally."

IN THE SUNDAY GLOBE--A prominent Southerner calls desegregation "a foolish decision . . . the whole issue will be dead in five years."



(Photo by Richard P. Lewis)

NEW NEGRO GENERATION—A home economics student at Mississippi State Vocational College for Negroes serves coffee to visiting New England newsmen.

Hold 'Secret' Meeting

WCC to Oppose Mixed Sports on Army Base

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU

NEW ORLEANS—High-ranking White Citizens Council representatives from sections of the nation as far off as Detroit, Mich., held a top secret meeting in a local hotel last week, compared notes on how Negroes in their communities are fighting segregation, and outlined a future plan of action, the Courier learned from confidential sources. All complained on lack of attendance at their local meetings.

WCC leaders expressed satisfaction, the Courier's source said, at the "success" their followers have had in causing the Urban League to be dropped from the Community Chest in several cities.

The objective at hand, according to information received, is to combat as far as possible mixed sporting events now be-

ing held on military posts. One WCC leader reportedly said, "The idea of white people clapping and cheering at white soldiers and Nigras' playing football together."

Since the state law cannot apply on a military post, the strategy will be to ascertain the names and home addresses of all white soldiers participating in mixed games and to contact their parents or relatives. By using persuasion or pressure on the parents, it is hoped they will appeal to their sons to desist in sports-mixing, the informant stated.

A Detroit WCC leader was quoted as saying violence is the only way to "deal" with Negroes. However, Louisiana WCC leaders, the informant declared, acted as a steadying influence on the meeting and said "even the hint of violence" would cause the WCC to lose the many gains it has made in several areas. The WCC speaker then added, "And we don't know how Negroes in this area would react to violence."

The WCC group voted to hold another secret meeting next month in Jackson, Miss., the Courier informant concluded.

CITIZEN COUNCIL

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Author of Article John E. Rousseau
Editor (on editorials)
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South Succeeding In Fight - Rogers

By The Associated Press

S. E. Rogers, the Clarendon county, S. C., attorney who fought integration cases before the U. S. Supreme Court, said Wednesday night the South "is succeeding in our fight slowly but surely."

He said he did not advocate force to keep segregation but "If we don't keep in power those who can help the South, individuals have only one recourse."

In an address to the Jackson Citizens Council meeting, Rogers said:

"We are not able to win the battle (for segregation) in court but in the area of public opinion and in the field of interposition."

ONLY REMEDY

"Interposition is the only remedy."

The Mississippi legislature recently adopted an interposition resolution stating the state objected to the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing segregation.

Rogers' audience, some 200 strong, included Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss) and Chief Justice Harvey McGehee of the Mississippi Supreme Court.

Rogers said the segregation decision "set back race relations 50 years in Mississippi."

He called the decision a part of a Communist plot to destroy classes in the United States to destroy eventually the United States.

He deplored what he called a situation in which the U. S. Supreme Court may interpret the U. S. Constitution merely by saying "we think so-and-so."

SOUTH DISAGREES

"In the South, we think this is wrong."

Rogers drew most of his applause when he denounced the presidential and vice presidential candidates of both the Democratic and Republican parties as favoring integration.

One of the major threats facing the South, he said, is the possibility that a Negro may be appointed federal district judge in a southern state.

"I would not be surprised to see a roving Negro federal district judge appointed in South Carolina," he said. "They can't appoint a regular judge there now but there's been talk of establishing a roving judgeship."

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
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JACKSON, MISS.
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CITIZENS COUNCILS
17 Nov. 1956

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THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.

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Integration Fighting Lawyer To Speak Here

A South Carolina lawyer who defended the now-famous Clarendon County case on which the U. S. Supreme Court based its Black Monday decision will address the Jackson Citizens Council here Wednesday night.

S. B. Rogers of Summerton, S. C., now the executive secretary of the South Carolina Citizens Councils, will give Jacksonians a first-hand report on his long fights with the courts that took him all the way to the nation's highest tribunal in Washington, D. C.

Bill Simmons, executive secretary of the Jackson Citizens Council, said Rogers will speak at 7:30 p. m. at the Edwards Hotel with Ellis W. Wright, president, in charge of the meeting.

Clarendon county, S. C., was the target of a federal court order to integrate its public schools a year ago, but the schools are still segregated.

Rogers is expected to reveal some of the personal anecdotes growing out of opposing attorneys and clashes with the NAACP in courts of the nation.

He will come to Jackson with a battery of college degrees and long experience in the field on which he will speak. He received his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees from Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va. He did graduate work at Columbia University in New York, and received his legal training at the University of North Carolina where he was editor of the Law Review.

While at Washington and Lee he was awarded the Howard Houston fellowship, the highest academic award made by that university. He served on the faculties of Washington and Lee, Georgia Tech and the University of Pittsburgh.

He was formerly associated with Dr. Howard W. Odum as a member of the Institute for Research in Social Science at North Carolina University.

He holds membership in Phi Beta Kappa, Delta Theta Phi law fraternity, Kappa Phi Kappa educational fraternity, and Alpha Psi Delta, psychological fraternity.

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W. B. Williams

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Says Northern Papers Slanted Hearing News

By TIM PARKER
The Associated Press

W. J. Simmons, Jackson Citizens Council leader, said today on his return from the school integration investigation in Washington that the hearings "will increase the north's understanding of the reason for separation in schools".

Simmons, secretary of the Jackson council and administrator of the state council association, said, however, that many northern newspapers failed to report the hearing adequately.

He said some northern newspapers "slanted" their accounts of the hearing and said such newspapers obviously are "mixed up in ideological theories."

Simmons, who sat through most of the hearings as an observer for the Mississippi Citizens Council, also announced that the Jackson council will be holding a meeting at 7:30 p. m. October 10 in the Edwards Hotel.

He said the speaker will be S. E. Rogers of Summerton, S. C., executive-secretary of the association of Citizens Councils of South Carolina. Rogers represented Clarendon County of South Carolina in the original hearing before the supreme court which resulted in the high court integration ruling.

TO TELL EXPERIENCES

Rogers is expected to tell his experiences in facing NAACP attorneys and, also, to describe how Clarendon County still is able to maintain segregated schools two years after the supreme court order directing their integration.

Simmons said William Gerber of Memphis, counsel for the District of Columbia sub-committee which held the school integration hearing in Washington, did a "masterful job."

Gerber was violently criticized by some Republicans and Northern Democrats for his conduct at JACKSON DAILY NEWS JACKSON, MISS.

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the hearing.

"If any one person should be singled out for praise, it would be Gerber for the systematic and thorough way he presented the case," Simmons said.

Simmons said that after the hearing he drove around Washington and saw that the whites had "fled in panic at the very rumor that Negroes were moving in their neighborhood".

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*CITIZENS COUNCIL - AND STATE
RIGHTS MOVEMENTS*

LAUGARDNER

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round

South's Moderates Choosing Sides

By Jack Anderson

Drew Pearson is touring the Middle East. In his absence, his column is being written by an associate.

THE RAW TRUTH behind the Southern race riots is that a new, sinister Ku Klux Klan movement is rising in the South.

The extremists no longer masquerade in white sheets, but act in the name of White Citizens Councils. They are ruthlessly fanning race hatred, bullying local officials and inciting mob violence.

This is not the report of Negro pressure groups or Northern liberals viewing from a distance. It's what Southerners, themselves, are saying privately. This writer spent two years in the Deep South. Here's what friends, who can't be identified for their own safety, report:

"I am hulled and interfered with in my duties by our local White Council," says a Louisiana registrar of voters.

"The White Councils are making personal friendship between individuals of the two races almost impossible," says a Georgia businessman.

"The extremists are leaving no middle ground for the moderates," says an Arkansas politician. "We are forced to choose sides—either for the White Citizens Council or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

"A WHOLE NEW generation is being taught extreme race hatred," claims an Alabama minister. "They are learning a kind of hate we did not have before, but which other sections often believed about us."

These statements come, astonishingly, from Southerners who believe in segregation. Their views do not imply any hostility toward Negroes. Rather they believe segregation is necessary to protect their families from lower Negro standards.

Rightly or wrongly, they consider Negro morals, education and health as below them. They are willing to help their colored neighbors achieve better conditions. They consider integration inevitable and are reconciled to accepting it—eventually. Meanwhile, they believe segregation is a necessary safeguard.

"Many, many white people here in the South have warm personal friends among the Negroes, but still believe in some degree of segregation," an Alabama schoolteacher explains. "Now all this is changing. The Citizens Councils are raising a tide of race hatred that is making fearful inroads into the backlog of goodwill that really did exist here in times past."

THOSE WHO BELIEVE time is on the side of integration are wrong, several Southerners warn.

"It is a mistake to think integration may safely go slow, and it will come out right in the end," says one. "The extremists aim not merely to keep segregation where it now exists but to undo the work of integration where it has already taken place."

What is the solution? One Southerner, who describes himself as "once a strong pro-segregationist, but now for urgent reasons an integrationist," suggested the following points in a letter to this column:

"1. High Government officials should announce to the South how much of the country is already integrated and how small a part is still segregated.

"2. White Citizens Councils should be charged with defying the Government.

"3. It should be declared that state laws on segregation are of no effect and that any state officer who tries to enforce them is guilty of contempt.

"4. A threat should be made to cut off Federal money from segregated states (contrary to fiction writers, Southerners love money as much as anybody else).

"5. All moderate Southerners should be reminded that the pro-segregationists are playing a delaying action against the inevitable and that it is not worth while to their section economically for temporary victories.

"If these methods are not used now, then the Citizens Councils will soon be re-segregating many places already integrated."

Note: Most Southerners contacted by this column look to President Eisenhower for leadership on settling the race crisis.

Adlai Jumps Gun

HEADLINES AND FOOTNOTES—Here's the inside reason Adlai Stevenson proposed ending the draft. He was tipped off that President Eisenhower had the same idea in mind. So Stevenson jumped the gun on Ike, came out with the proposal first. . . . Both candidates would have worded the promise the same way. They favor dropping the draft as soon as world conditions permit. . . .

The White House is flirting with the idea of appointing a Negro to the Supreme Court. However, it's strictly in the suggestion stage. . . . Emile Zola Berman, the dynamic lawyer who defended Marine Sgt. Matthew McKeon, tried to suppress a story in today's Parade Magazine.

The Sunday supplement got an exclusive story from Mrs. McKeon, describing her emotions while her husband was on trial for leading six Marines to their death in a swollen creek. Berman's office tried to stop the story, though Parade had a written release from Mrs. McKeon. Despite legal threats, Parade editor Jess Gorkin published the story.

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THINKING OUT LOUD

Outlaw Citizens Councils?

By LYNN LANDRUM

IT IS THE POLICY of the column to have no truck with the Citizens Councils which are blossoming out all over. Instinctively, the Columnntator has learned to distrust mass thinking. The Columnntator is always afraid to join up at the tail of a queue waiting on the sidewalk, for fear that, when he gets to the head of the line, he will find that the bargain is in brassieres instead of socks.

With so much thinking desperately needed in these days when Mr. Truman says it is a red herring and Mr. Nixon says it is a plain case of peacetime treason, it figures out that every man must do his own thinking. And thinking is easiest for the Columnntator when he is off by himself with nobody Elvis-Pelvising on the loud-speaker and nobody nailing down a tin roof next door. The Columnntator likes best of all to go out to Billygoat Hill, get on the upstairs balcony, sit down in his chair, put his feet up on the railing, pull his hat down over his eyes, lean back and watch himself while he thinks he is thinking deep and beautiful thoughts.

CITIZENS COUNCILS number in their ranks many upright, God-fearing folk. And that was true of the Ku Klux Klan, too. But the Columnntator makes it a rule never to put his conscience under the unit rule in anybody's secret caucus. It just doesn't seem right. It doesn't seem safe. Besides, the Columnntator has a funny-peculiar conscience which is stubbornly uncomfortable, even if outvoted.

With whatever good there is in the councils, there is a deal of bad, it



seems to the Columnntator. But, even so, it would be wrong to outlaw the councils. This business of outlawing people isn't a good idea. We already have more outlaws than we can arrest and convict. Until we catch up on the dockets now running over, maybe we can afford to quit adding to the criminal statutes for a while. At least, that is one of the conclusions to which the Columnntator has come to up there on that balcony seat on Billygoat Hill. So, then if the proposition is to abolish Citizens Councils or the National Association for the Agitation of the Colored People, the old Columnntator votes no.

NAAOP is barging in and making all sorts of trouble in Texas now. But it would be a sorry sort of Texas in which a citizen, be he high yellow, white, black, brown or red, can not let out a loud demand for his rights—as he conceives them to be.

The Columnntator is reactionary, of course, and an egghead liberal can get him to snorting just by dipsy-doodling out loud about the "moral forces" who want to ruin the country although they are in the minority.

But there never was a reactionary who couldn't use a little liberty, himself. And the best way of making sure that liberty is on tap for everybody is to let everybody have it just as far as is consistent with the safety of all of us.

The colored people have as much right to hard-headed, uncompromising leadership as have the white folks. Being hard-headed himself, the Columnntator has more sympathy with a hard head than with a soft one.

- Editorial -

"Dallas Morning News"
Dallas, Texas, 9/12/56

Wm. B. Ruggles, Editor

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EXPOSE—White Citizens Councils' Hate Crusade

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU

(Part II)

COUNCILS have been operating nearly two years in Mississippi which claims to have more than 200 groups and more than 100,000 members. These claims, however, are unproved.

According to Mississippi's official publication, "The Citizens Council," Jackson, Miss., state executive committee and officers are Fred A. Anderson Jr., Gloster; Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven; M. L. Branch, Wilona; J. B. Cunningham, Brooksville; J. O. Hollis, Carthage; E. W. Hooker, Lexington; Ward Hurt, Lumberton; W. H. Johnson Jr., Decatur; Fred Jones, Inverness; Dewey Myers, Prentiss.

Also, Benn Berry, Grenada; Marion Simpson, Canton; J. E. Stockstill, Pkayune; Glenn Trusty, Tupelo; Z. M. Veazey Jr., Coldwater; Will E. Ward, Starkville; Pete F. Williams Sr., Clarksdale; Ellis W. Wright, Jackson; R. B. Patterson, executive secretary, Greenwood; J. W. Simmons, editor and administrator, Jackson; Ellet Lawrence, finance chairman, Greenwood, and Bob Parish, treasurer, Greenwood.

THE ASSOCIATION of Citizens Councils of Louisiana has been in operation about a year but was officially incorporated, according to records of Secretary of State Wade O. Martin Jr., on Jan. 27. Its primary purpose is "to protect and preserve by all legal means, our historical Southern social institutions in all of their aspects."

Registered agents of the Council are William F. M. Meadors Sr., Box 209, and Frank M. Dougherty, Box 409, both in Homer, La.

Incorporators are J. Stewart Slack, Shreveport; Malcolm Dougherty, Jackson; J. E. Viguerie, New Orleans; G. C. Goldman, Waterproof, and W. M. Shaw, Homer.

LISTED AS charter members are W. M. Shaw, Homer; C. E. Vetter, 1034 Lamanche, New Orleans; John S. Garrett, Haynesville; George Carneal Goldman, Waterproof; J. Stewart Slack, Shreveport; Joseph B. Viguerie, New Orleans; W. F. Powell, Tallulah; Malcolm Dougherty, Jackson; Irvin J. G. Janissen, Arabi; Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport; Paul G. Borron, Baton Rouge; Sargent Pitcher Jr., Baton Rouge; Harry P. Gamble Sr., 1458 Nashville, New Orleans; Dr. Emmett Lee Irwin, 2809 Napoleon, New Orleans; Robert L. Hickerson, Whitney Building, New Orleans; State Senator Willie M. Rainach, Summerfield, and Leander H. Perez, American Bank Building, New Orleans.

DESPITE THE Louisiana Citizens Councils—stated pur-

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William F. Meadors
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Pittsburgh, Pa.

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John E. Rousseau
Editor (on editorials)

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pose to protect and preserve segregation "by all legal means," one of its officials, Senator Willie Rainach, in a special two-year report on the Legislative Committee on Segregation which he heads, said in May:

"During the fall of 1954 an attempt was made to enroll some 30 Negro children in the Gilmer Wright Elementary School for white students here (Baton Rouge). . . . The next day a number of armed men appeared at the school grounds and a series of outbreaks of violence was considered imminent."

He praised the state for remaining calm and said his committee had helped solve this situation.

Paradoxically, the Citizens Council on May 17 held a mass meeting in Pelican Stadium, New Orleans, and presented Georgia Governor Marvin Griffin who said, "The people of the South are ready today to battle side-by-side for those same sacred rights which led their forefathers into the bloody War Between the States almost 100 years ago."

AT THIS same meeting Dr. Emmett Lee Irwin, chairman of the New Orleans Council, said he represented 50,000 members in the area, then attacked the New Orleans Urban League and Catholic Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel.

Another speaker, Senator Rainach, said the number of units of Citizens Councils in Louisiana had grown from two to 29 and that others were being formed.

About an hour after the mass meeting ended, an eight-foot burning cross was discovered in front of Notre Dame Seminary, some 10 blocks from Pelican Stadium. Archbishop Rummel's residence is on the seminary campus. Several weeks after the meeting the United Fund of Greater New Orleans announced that the New Orleans Urban League will not receive a financial allocation for the year 1956-57.

IN OTHER sections of Louisiana, White Citizens Councils have used pressure on registrars of voters to have the registration rolls purged of Negroes.

Webster Parish Vote Registrar Mrs. Winnice Clements was approached by Citizens Council members and accused of not testing prospective voters before registering them. She began applying the test provided by Louisiana law to all applicants. When more than 20 whites failed and no Negroes, she was again challenged and finally, on May 10, her resignation was demanded. Governor Earl K. Long, however, reinstated her when he took office May 17.

IN MONROE, LA., the Ouachita White Citizens Council challenged the registrar of voters and some 3,000 names—mostly those of Negroes—were scratched from the rolls.

Presently, the Caddo Parish Citizens Council, Shreveport, has stated its intention to "make an exploratory examination" of the vote registration rolls to "uncover illegal registrants."

And so, while the Citizens Councils allegedly operate by legal methods and advocate

"peaceful settlements," they have succeeded in laying the groundwork for the most dangerous situation the South has ever known.

(THE END)

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Brownell Should Act

The Democratic Party of Mississippi has adopted some rigid new rules to restrict the franchise.

From now on, anyone who wants to vote in the primary, which is the real election in that state, he must take an oath that he favors white supremacy and segregation.

Further, he must swear that he opposes anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation as well as the idea of equal opportunity of employment.

Our question is, what is Herbert Brownell, the U.S. attorney general, going to do about it?

While it is true the Congress has refused him new laws he requested to deal with this problem, the fact is he needs no new laws to do something about this flagrant violation of basic rights.

He already possesses the tools to break up such wholesale disfranchisement now confronting American citizens not only in Mississippi, but Louisiana, North Carolina, Alabama and Georgia as well.

The present Civil Rights Act is already on the books. All it needs is a less politically-minded attorney general to enforce it.

Could Mr. Brownell's refusal to act have any connection with his giving all Federal patronage in Mississippi to flywhite Republicans and the recognition of an all-white delegation to the national convention for the first time in 50 years?

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THE BALTIMORE AFRO AMERICAN
BALTIMORE, MD.
JULY 31, 1956

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Clarksdale Segregation Plan In National Focus

By H. L. STEVENSON
United Press Staff Correspondent
JACKSON (UP) — State Capitol
sidelights:

A voluntary form of school segregation in Clarksdale, located in one of the state's heavily Negro populated areas, is expected to receive national publicity in a few days.

It ties in with the State Sovereignty Commission's campaign to spread favorable Southern propaganda to other sections of the nation.

Commission, publicity director Hal Decelle helped line up the film which will show the planning for schools under the multi-million dollar equalization program. Decelle was in New York today making final arrangements with a national television network.

Negro leaders of Clarksdale agreed to segregation, providing first priority was given to bringing Negro schools up to par with whites. Clarksdale white leaders promised to channel all available funds into the project.

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VA Integration Here May Lead To Boycott

The Jackson Citizens Council today called for a boycott of the Veterans Administration Hospital in order to halt "race-mixing" at the Jackson hospital and other government installations in Mississippi.

The Citizens Council also asked the Jackson Police Department to be authorized to enforce segregation at the VA Hospital here. Wright, president of the Citizens Council, said Mississippians are "deeply shocked" to learn whites and Negroes are being placed in the same ward at the hospital. Wright's statement followed charges by a white woman, Mrs. R. G. Beckwith, that she was placed in a ward with Negro men at the VA hospital.

A. W. Woolford, manager of the VA hospital, denied her charge but said the hospital is completely integrated. He said, however, that Mrs. Beckwith was assigned a private room.

Wright praised Mrs. Beckwith for refusing to accept accommodations at the integrated hospital. Mrs. Beckwith said she angrily left the hospital when she discovered Negroes shared her ward. This sorry state of affairs was brought to light by the courageous action of a Southern lady. R. G. Beckwith of Vicksburg, refusing to permit herself to accept hospital accommodations

shared by Negro men," Wright said.

Mrs. Beckwith Praised
"Every southern man and woman who really believes in those principles we profess to believe owes Mrs. Beckwith a debt of gratitude for her personal and moral courage," he declared.

"No Mississippian, white or colored, if he believes in racial honesty, ought to allow himself or herself to be placed in the position of accepting treatment in an integrated hospital. Are we honest only as long as we don't need money?" Wright continued.

Wright called on members of Citizens Councils throughout the state to demand action by national, state and city officials in halting "race-mixing practices" in VA hospitals and other government installations in Mississippi.

U. S. Flaunts Segregation
"The federal government complies with state and local law in every other respect, why should it be permitted to flaunt race-mixing as an open insult?" asked Wright. Wright suggested that the Jackson Police Department be used to stamp out integration at the VA hospital.

"It does not seem amiss to point out that the Jackson Police Department very promptly and effectively enforced segregation in the railroad and bus stations following an integration edict from the Interstate Commerce Commission although for some unexplained

reason similar action has not been taken at the municipally operated airport," he said.

"Why cannot the same thing be done at the VA hospital?" Wright asked.

Wright said halting integration at the VA represents a "positive challenge" to Mississippians.

Wright implied that Gov. J. P. Coleman should take action on the state level to prohibit integration at federal installations in Mississippi.

No Integration
"Our governor has stated many times that there will be no integration in Mississippi during his administration," he said.

Wright chided Vicksburg for not organizing to fight integration.

"If the good people of Vicksburg in racial segregation and if they believe in racial segregation and if they believe in correcting the situation which resulted in this gross insult to a Vicksburg lady, they can do their share effectively, intelligently, and collectively by organizing the Vicksburg Citizens Council immediately," Wright declared.

Wright urged action in stopping integration at the VA hospital in order that Mrs. Beckwith's "personal exposure to threats and public embarrassment will not have been in vain."

Mrs. Beckwith said she received several anonymous telephone threats after she made her charges against the VA Hospital.

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AUG 6 1956

Citizens' Council Has Spread Over Nation In Two Years

Special to State Times

INDIANOLA — On Wednesday, July 11, the Citizens' Council organization marks its second anniversary. From a group of 14 men, meeting in the living room at the home of Dave Hawkins in Indianola, Miss., the movement has spread across the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf. There are half a million members in the South alone, a number that is increasing every week. At least 30 states have Citizens Councils or similar organizations, and they have been reported in such cities as Chicago, Washington, Los Angeles, Detroit, St. Louis, Newark, New Jersey, and Cleveland, Ohio.

Defiance and Acceptance

The Citizens' Council was born less than two months after the May 17 decision of the United States Supreme Court against segregation. Residents of the southern states, stunned at the prospect of a complete overthrow of their customs and traditions, expressed their resentment in voices ranging from a minority's heartsick acceptance to a majority's loud defiance. Out of this confusion the Citizens' Council emerged to mobilize public sentiment and to provide a vehicle to support the southern representatives in Congress.

Members of the original Indianola Council were invited all over the South to address large audiences and to assist in the formation of other such groups. Soon the impact of the movement began to be felt in a renewed hope that integration could be prevented through legal means.

According to its stated purpose, the Citizens' Council is "dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquillity in our communities and our state and to the preservation of states' rights." The organization in each city and town is independent and autonomous, electing their own officers and having their own treasury, but they are united into a state federation.

National Organization

In January, 1956, the Citizens' Councils of America was formed in New Orleans, its purpose being an information center and coordinating agency." Robert Patterson of Indianola a leader in the original 14, and secretary for the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi,

was named acting executive secretary, with his state office in Greenwood as headquarters.

A large number of women have affiliated with the Mississippi Citizens' Councils, paying regular dues and attending the meetings, which are open to the public and press. The roster of members includes leading citizens of their communities, public officials, head of civic clubs, business and professional men, and planters.

In spite of the spotlighting of Mississippi by the Northern press, relationships between whites and Negroes have largely remained friendly. There are no school splits, and "all is quiet on the racial front."

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STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
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Segregation Problem

Group Would Split South and AFL-CIO

By JOHN HERLING

The Washington bombardment of the AFL-CIO leadership by protests from the South has been slowing down but the angry "segregation" problem lingers on in the labor movement.

This past week, political plans are being made by "segregated" labor spokesman, Elmer A. Brock of Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. Brock has sent out a call to a pre-convention caucus of Southern delegates to the Democratic National Convention. His invitation lists, he claims, includes 1000 top names.

Mr. Brock's newly set up labor group—the Southern Aircraft Workers, Inc.—which stresses its initials "SAW"—frankly aims at splitting away Southern labor from the AFL-CIO.

CLAIMS

"SAW" claims to have enlisted almost half the 3500 workers in the Hayes Aircraft Corp. It was chartered under the Alabama laws last April. It now claims "certification" by the Department of Labor, as of last week.

This means that this southern labor group has filed a financial statement, its constitution and by-laws, and a non-communist affidavit in accordance with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley law.

But apparently this organization is not ready for a test of an NLRB election. SAW officials say they want to wait until "well over half of the employees are on its rolls before it asks for an NLRB election." Their object is to oust the Auto Workers local as the collective bargaining agent for the workers at this plant.

CORRESPONDENCE

SAW's leader, Elmer Brock, is one of the small number of active secessionists in the labor field. But over the past three months, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, has had a heavy correspondence from Southern union members and a scattering of local union leaders. Some days the letters ran to a hundred or more. A total of 3500-4000 letters have objected among other things to the AFL-CIO stand against White Citizens Councils.

Here in Washington, a recent meeting of regional directors from Southern states was held on the

widely advertised talk about "secession" by unions from the AFL-CIO.

According to Boris Shiskin, director of the Civil Rights Division of the AFL-CIO, specific evidence of correlation between White Citizens Councils and threats of withdrawal has been clearly traced.

REPLIES

All letters received on this subject have been treated seriously and received personal replies by Mr. Meany. In replying to protesting individuals or groups, Mr. Meany tells them, among other things:

"Our concern has been and is now with the anti-union activities of the White Citizens Councils. We have evidence that a large number of these councils are carrying on a concerted activity to disrupt trade unions and to disrupt their ability to protect workers."

Right now, Mr. Brock of SAW will be working away at certain union sectors to establish some kind of "southern" labor movement. According to top AFL-CIO officials, "Mr. Brock won't cut off any important trade union groups. Splinters, maybe—but branches, no."

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Holloman ☒
Gandy ☒

McIntire
Wick

file 105-34237

Wash. Post and Times Herald ☒
Wash. News ☒
Wash. Star ☒
N. Y. Herald Tribune ☒
N. Y. Mirror ☒
N. Y. Daily News ☒
Daily Worker ☒
The Worker ☒
New Leader ☒

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Unions Face Race Dilemma

By BEM PRICE

ATLANTA.—Labor unions in the Deep South are on the verge of big trouble over the segregation issue. In fact, in some sections of the region union leaders acknowledge that organizing already has come to a standstill. The worker is being confronted with a hard choice: Loyalty to the union or to the "Southern way of life."

The combined AFL-CIO has taken an adamant stand for public school desegregation as decreed by the United States Supreme Court May 17, 1954.

Yet hundreds of union members throughout the deep South belong to organizations such as the White Citizens Councils which are dedicated to the maintenance of segregation.

Traditionally the deep South is pro-segregation and anti-union. There have been—and are—tremendous community pressures to maintain these traditions. For the union member who has already parted with one tradition the question is whether he can part with the second, and still be accepted in the community.

Unionists Admit Dilemma

Union leaders make no bones about their dilemma. They fully realize that the situation for unions contains the seeds of regional destruction.

Charles Gillman, assistant director for the AFL-CIO in Alabama, Georgia and Florida, says: "I would say industry could use this to destroy unions; in fact is using it."

From George Meany, AFL-CIO president, on down to the State union level, there is an expressed belief that the pro-segregation Citizens Councils, the various States rights groups and the little-noticed but influential Federation for Constitutional Government are also anti-labor.

The FCG is a coalition of the top leaders of the pro-segregation movement from Virginia to Texas, headed by John U. Barr, a New Orleans industrialist, a member of the Citizens Councils and a onetime leader in the 1948 States right Democrat movement.

Mr. Barr emphatically insists that the FCG "is neither anti-Negro nor anti-labor."

"We believe in individual liberty and constitutional government," he said in an interview. "We have and will continue to fight for right-to-work laws."

Right-to-work laws prohibit union shops. Devout labor unionists say they destroy the collective security foundation of the unions.

In any case, union leaders believe they are in for a very real and very tough fight.

A still confidential report to the National Executive Council of the AFL-CIO says: "It is becoming increasingly difficult to organize white and Negro workers employed at the same job, especially where this neo-Ku Klux Klan movement has gained a foothold."

As a case in point, the report cited the Manhattan Raybestos plant at Charleston, S. C. It claimed that 75 per cent of the white and Negro workers at the

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plant were organized until the local Citizens Council began opposing the union with community pressures, mostly social.

This same report said "unless some exposure (of the pro-segregation leadership) is planned, any organizing might as well stop at the Mason-Dixon line."

When asked about the report in Washington, George Weaver, chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, said, "I am inclined to agree that it will be difficult if not impossible to organize in the South under these conditions."

National Stand Is Clear

The national leadership of the unions has made its prointegration stand abundantly clear and in doing so has set up the unions as real targets in the South.

Further, in 1964 the Philip Murray Foundation, financed by voluntary contributions to honor the late CIO leader, contributed \$75,000 to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In the deep South—and in places not so deep—the NAACP is considered by pro-segregationists as the real enemy, the well-heeled foe who would force integration on unwilling Southerners.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations insist that no money has come from their national treasuries for the NAACP either before or since their merger.

But in February the executive council of the AFL-CIO met at Miami Beach, Fla., and declared that "White Citizens Councils have sprung up as a new Ku Klux Klan to preserve racial segregation and fight labor unions."

The union officials formally said that "the Citizens Councils are not only seeking to divide the cities of the South on the basis of race, they are exploiting racial prejudice to divide workers . . ."

The union group also declared that if Federal money is allocated under a school construction aid program to States which have not complied with the Supreme Court desegregation decision, it would if necessary instigate legal proceedings "to prevent such misuse of the taxpayers' money."

Rome (Ga.) AFL-CIO leaders wired Mr. Meany asking in substance that he and other union leaders please shut up, that they were ruining organizing efforts with such statements.

In Birmingham, Ala., 94 members of a 98-man work crew at the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., a United States Steel subsidiary, threatened to leave the union.



OPPONENTS—John U. Barr (left) heads Federation for Constitutional Government; Charles Gillman (right) is AFL-CIO leader in Atlanta.

rather than see "our segregated way of life destroyed."

These members of the United Steel Workers said they understood union funds were "being used against us by the NAACP. In the future if any more of our funds are used for this purpose, action will be taken as to how it can be stopped."

Mr. Gillman said he had reports from Birmingham of Steelworkers locals barring Negro members from meetings.

At two large meetings of Citizens Councils in Birmingham union local officials appeared as council executives.

Anti-Integration Union Group

In Chattanooga, Tenn., members of nine local unions have started a movement to organize an anti-integration "Southern States Conference of Union People."

A. A. Canada, member of the local Pressmen's Union and chairman of the new organization's organizing committee, said 10,000 copies of a resolution giving the aims of the conference had been mailed to union men in Tennessee.

The resolution charges that the AFL-CIO is under "control of labor leaders who are aiding and abetting the mixing of white and Negro races in our public schools and elsewhere."

Mr. Canada also is president of the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation.

In Memphis, Tenn., Local 988 of the United Auto Workers threatened to quit the national union.

The threat came after Herschel Davis of Detroit, administrative assistant to a UAW vice president, said: "You are no longer holding meetings for union business. You

are meeting to fight integration."

A steward of the local union, James Marshall, angrily told Mr. Davis: "The time is coming when the workers of the South will decide whether we want your union with desegregation or our own union with segregation. When the showdown comes, we'll take segregation."

William J. Simmons, State administrator for the Mississippi Citizens Councils and executive secretary of the Jackson Council, has denied the movement is antilabor. In fact, said Mr. Simmons, union members are flocking to join councils.

"We are pro-segregation," he said, "and if Mississippi labor is pro-segregation then we are in perfect harmony."

The battle for allegiance between the unions and the pro-segregation movements is not yet fully joined, but Mr. Gillman is reasonably sure it is coming.

"People will join the union," said Mr. Gillman, "then just before a labor election determine whether the union will represent the workers) circulars will be gotten out saying the union contributed to the NAACP. Then the councils try to get union members to serve on executive boards and try to sell them on the idea that union money is being spent for integration."

"They (the pro-segregation organizers) tell the white man that the Negro is going to get his job," Mr. Gillman continued, "and then they tell the Negro that the white man is going to take his. It is getting so in some places the white man won't talk to the Negro and the Negro won't talk to the white man though they are on the same job."

For Southern labor the No. 1 question is whether the pro-segregation movement actually is tied in with an antilabor movement and whether it is co-ordinated.

Dispute Over FCG's Role

Labor's Daily, sponsored by the International Typographical Union, has charged that it was co-ordinated through the FCG. This Mr. Barr denied strongly.

The New Orleans industrialist said the FCG was established by a group of Southern leaders meeting in Jackson and that it was formally launched at a meeting with representatives from 12 Southern States at Memphis last December. Among those present was Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi.

Mr. Barr said the FCG sought no members and operated entirely on voluntary contributions from individuals and organizations. He insisted, however, in an interview that "we have no organizational affiliations."

The federation operates with a 100-man advisory committee, including Strom Thurmond, former Governor and Senator from South Carolina and 1948 candidate for President on the Dixiecrat ticket; Senator Eastland, Mr. Simmons of the Mississippi Citizens Councils, Representative John Bell Williams, Democrat of Mississippi; former Gov. William Tuck of Virginia, former Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, State Representative William Rainach of Louisiana, State Senator Walter C. Givhan of Alabama and Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi.

In Washington an AFL-CIO spokesman was asked whether any of the members of the FCG advisory committee could be called friendly to labor. He replied, "Hell, no."

(The Associated Press)

JOIN THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL.

A campaign for new membership of the Jackson branch of the Citizens' Council has been launched, the goal being 10,000 members within the limits of this city.

The local Council now has about 2,500 members and since it is evident the time is near at hand when the organization is going to face legal battles to enforce integration in public schools, beginning with the next scholastic term, it is important to have the full force of the community behind the organization.

The membership fee is nominal — only \$5, plus a \$2 subscription to the monthly publication.

Chairman of the drive is S. B. Lawrence, one of Jackson's best beloved citizens, whose address is P. O. Box 81. Don't wait for a personal solicitation. Mail your check to Mr. Lawrence and he will send you a membership card.

The Citizens' Council needs you and you will be needing the Citizens' Council in the fight ahead.

If you believe there can be NO compromise on the matter of segregation.

If you believe that integration will bring the evils of miscegenation (interbreeding between the different races).

If you believe that social intermingling and miscegenation will be seriously detrimental to both races and to our civilization.

If you realize that either Communistic influences or economic pressure groups stand behind every effort to invade States' Rights and force integration and miscegenation on the people of the South.

If you believe in the rights of the Sovereign States to handle their own internal affairs.

If you realize that indifference, apathy, and the inclination of some to accept desegregation as "inevitable" are our greatest enemies.

If you are positively dedicated, in your own mind, to the preservation of segregation without equivocation or qualification.

If you are ready and willing to do something positive about this very serious and present problem.

Then you should immediately join the Citizens' Council and become an effective unit in the fighting forces.

The Citizens' Council is dedicated to these purposes:

- to good government and the promotion of peaceful relations among the citizens of our community

FREDERICK SULLENS, EDITOR
JACKSON DAILY NEWS
JACKSON, MISS.

6/19/56

Page 6 Col.

—to take the task of taking every legal and legitimate means to maintain segregation in Jackson

—to keeping all members informed as to matters dealing with this subject

—to inform the public as to the disastrous force that integration turns loose in a community or state

Join with those who think as you think. Join with those who stand publicly, fearlessly, and fully determined that segregation in Jackson SHALL BE maintained.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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117 JUL 11 1956

71 JUL 12 1956

Patterson Praises Citizens' Councils

A public official in Mississippi can support no better organization for protection of its people than the Mississippi Citizens' Council, attorney General Joe T. Patterson declared here Friday.

Speaking as the keynoter for the Hinds county Democratic convention at the local courthouse, Patterson told his audience that he had just returned from Eupora, where he spoke at an organizational meeting of the Webster county Citizens' Council.

"I addressed the Citizens' Council in my native county last night, and I am tired. I may not do justice to this keynote address here today," he apologized.

"But, I have no apologies to make for supporting the Citizens' Council. I don't know of a better cause a public official could espouse for the welfare of his state and continuance of the right way of life."

Patterson, in a surprising blast at churchmen who preach integration, declared, "the left - wingers have found their way into government, the schools and the churches."

"One thing I resent with all of my heart is the fact that some churchmen in high places are telling their people that segregation is un-Christian," Patterson declared.

"Communism is diametrically opposed to everything Christian, and yet we have those who would bring it into our churches in an attempt to undermine our faith in the teachings of a religion which we have held dear throughout our lives," Patterson cited. "I think it is wrong on its face and an indictment of the principles of some of our clergy."

Patterson, introduced by Major Frederick Sullens, editor of the Jackson Daily News, was described by the veteran writer as "Equal to any past attorney general of Mississippi and superior to several."

"As a Democrat," Sullens pursued, "Atty. Gen. Patterson is a Democrat of Democrats."

THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.

6/16/56

Page 8 Cols. 5 & 6

The attorney general, in his opening remarks, in turn paid tribute to Major Sullens.

"I only wish that all those who wield the editorial pen had the fortitude to say what they think as does Major Sullens," Patterson said. "My children and yours will down through the years read quotations from the pen of one of the last of the old-time fire-eating editors, Major Sullens, who has the courage to say what he thinks, knowing that it may cost his paper a page advertisement the next day."

Patterson reiterated his stand for a recessed state convention on July 16, and stood up for an uninstructed delegation to the national convention in Chicago, Aug. 16.

He said that while the Democrats have done many things that we in this state do not like, "the Republicans in the last three and one-half years have done to us more that we don't like."

The attorney general castigated President Eisenhower for false promises on states' rights only to go back on those promises.

He hit at the civil rights program now in the Congress, declaring if there "ever was a plan to emasculate the rights of the states, this is it."

"People of the North are beginning to find out that state's rights go higher than the Negro issue," Patterson declared.

Advocating sticking to the Democratic Party rather than going Republican, Patterson reminded that over the years, the "Democrats have been more friendly to the South than the Republicans."

"We did not like some of the things the Democrats did in their 20-year rule," he cited, "but, Mississippi during that time enjoyed the greatest prosperity and progress in its history."

Following Mr. Patterson's address, during which he drew rounds of enthusiastic applause at several points, the convention went immediately into its business of electing county executive committeemen and state convention delegates.

Judge Harold Cox, county chairman, presided over the entire meeting, which lasted from 10 a.m. to 2:15 p.m.

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Miss Gandy	_____

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117 JUL 11 1956

31 JUL 12 1956

Louisiana House Votes Strict Segregation Bill

BATON ROUGE, La., June 15 (AP).—The Louisiana House of Representatives yesterday approved bills to ban interracial sports and entertainment and to permit firing of teachers who advocate school integration.

Another bill would ban immediate court appeal by persons denied the right to register as voters. It would require first appeals to be made to the Parish (County) Board of Supervisors for Elections, then the Parish Police Jury (Commissioners) before going to court.

All passed unanimously without debate and went to the Senate.

One bill would ban interracial dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities "involving personal and social contacts." Penalties would be fines of \$100 to \$1,000 and imprisonment ranging from 60 days to one year.

Rep. Lawrence Gibbs, a sponsor of the bill, said it would prevent the use of a Negro player in the Sugar Bowl at New Orleans. Pittsburgh used Bobby Grier against Georgia Tech in the 1956 game.

The bill also would ban Negroes in professional baseball in Louisiana.

Four bills passed by the House dealt with the teacher tenure laws. They provided for dismissal of teachers, school bus drivers and other school employees who belong, join or contribute to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or similar groups.

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Use of Secret Agents Unnecessary

The fact that the State Sovereignty Commission plans to hire secret investigators to watch the movements of the NAACP in Mississippi was headlined in the current issue of Southern School News, monthly publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service.

The service, with headquarters in Nashville, describes itself as "an objective, fact-finding agency established by southern newspaper editors and educators" to keep the public informed on developments in education arising from the U. S. Supreme Court's opinion of May 17, 1954, declaring public school segregation unconstitutional.

In a summary of the 17 Southern and border states most affected by the high court decision, the publication reports that 540 school districts in that area have taken steps toward compliance with the May 17 ruling.

At adjournment of the 1955-56 school year, according to the report, more than 256,000 Negro students were in "integrated situations"—all but a few of them in the border states.

In the Deep South, on the other hand, Southern School News reports, "a policy of determined resistance spread north into Virginia, south into Florida and west into Arkansas. In New Orleans, a Citizens Council of America official said his organization had 500,000 members in 11 states."

The 17-state survey also includes the five top developments in each state during the school year just ending, according to Southern School News correspondents.

PAUL TIBLIER, EDITOR
STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
6/12/56

Page 6 A Cols. 1 & 2

The five top events as listed for Mississippi:

1. Progress in carrying out a public school equalization program to bring Negro schools up to a par with the whites, through salary increases, added transportation facilities and new buildings and programming for others. Basis of the program is to equalize the dual system in an effort to discourage integration.

2. Appointment of a bi-racial delegation to attend the White House conference on education (held earlier this year).

3. Legislative repeal of Mississippi's compulsory school attendance law, along with other legislation to set up additional roadblocks against integration, including creation of a State Sovereignty Commission headed by the governor and given \$250,000 to fight for preservation of segregation.

4. Absence of bona fide petitions to local school boards to re-organize the districts on a non-segregation basis.

5. Increase in number of Citizens Councils "dedicated to preservation of segregation" and reported establishment of locals in all 82 counties with overall membership in excess of 100,000.

In the article on creation of the State Sovereignty Commission, Southern School News noted that "several" Mississippi newspapers have criticized the use of secret agencies by the commission and added that some state legislators "also feel they (the secret agents) are unnecessary in view of the numerous statutes designed to prevent legal and delaying barriers to integration efforts."

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Supreme Court On States Rights Again

Two split decisions by the Supreme Court a week ago additionally highlight the growing need to reexamine federal and state relationships. The high court in these two cases in majority seemed, in contrast to some decisions negating state laws, to be reaffirming powers of states.

We have had decisions, such as that involving a Pennsylvania sedition law, which automatically seemed to establish a federal exclusiveness. In the sedition case, the high court ruled flatly that a state could not take legal action against sedition, that this was an exclusive responsibility of the federal government. Yet there had not, to this time, been any such assumption, and many states have sedition laws on the books. There has been, also, no clear congressional intention to limit sedition responsibility to the federal government. A move is now under way, with Justice Department support, to pass a law giving states and federal governments mutual responsibility for protection against sedition.

One of the two cases decided Monday involved dismissal of a California woman by a private employer on grounds she had been a Communist Party member. The California Supreme Court held that the dismissal was justified under a labor-management contract giving the employer the right to dismiss for "just cause." The U. S. Court by 6-3 majority upheld that decision, stating that the issue "involves only California construction of a

local contract under local law and, therefore, no substantial federal question is presented." The minority—Warren, Douglas and Black—dissented, contending "a flagrant violation of the First Amendment," or, in brief, that there was a federal question.

The other decision was that the state of Wisconsin was not offending the Constitution when it won an injunction barring picketing and other union activities in the touchy, long strike at the Kohler Company. A Wisconsin Supreme Court ruling upheld the injunction on appeal by the UAW. The U. S. Supreme Court Monday held that states have such rights even though the acts banned may constitute an unfair labor practice and therefore come under federal law. In brief, this seems to grant a kind of mutuality of responsibility—a labor action may be under specific federal regulation, yet be dealt with by a state government also.

It seems evident that these decisions may be regarded as not entirely compatible with some other high court decisions. The consistency of the U. S. Supreme Court will seem to some to be challengeable. The verdicts are even more interesting in that they demonstrate that if there is—as some allege—a trend in the high court toward depriving states of powers previously assumed, that court is still allowing states to retain powers in some cases in which it might be argued the decision could not unreasonably have gone the other way.

BAUMGARDNER

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS
 Birmingham, Alabama
 June 11, 1956

Red Star Final
 Editorial

CHARLES A. FELL - Editor-in-Chief.

STATES RIGHTS.

30 JUN 20 1956

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Broyhill Tells Why He Signed The Manifesto

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

Rep. Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.) signed the Southern Manifesto because he believed in it, but also because he could find "no middle ground" left on which to stand.

Broyhill and his fellow Virginian Richard H. Poff were the only Republicans among the 101 Southern Congressmen who last March signed the declaration urging "all lawful means" to resist and reverse the Supreme Court's school integration decision.

Broyhill is a staunch supporter of President Eisenhower on most issues. His 10th District just across the Potomac voted against the Gray Commission's plan to get around integration by providing tuition grants to let students attend private schools.

Broyhill's signature on the manifesto has become an issue in the 10th District since the

equal opportunity and justice under the law. But I recognize that cannot be accomplished while men's minds and hearts won't accept it as a matter of custom."

Racial problems can be licked by the gradual educational process that is going on, said Broyhill, but not by a court order.

"White people in the South accept many things they would not have accepted years ago," he said. "The South is gradually coming around, but they won't take it by force."

"How does the Negro stand in the North? Is he a social equal? No. He doesn't hold as many high positions in northern schools as he does in the South."

Broyhill acknowledges there are probably proportionately fewer pro-segregationists in his district than in any other part of the state. But he feels northern Virginia must work out the problem along with the rest of the state.

"It is still geographically a part of the State of Virginia," he said. "The solution to this problem has got to be worked out in cooperation with the state as a whole."

Both Virginia's senators and all 10 of its House members signed the manifesto.

Both Virginia's senators and all 10 of its House members signed the manifesto. The Tenth District, the Gray Commission's constituents schools.

Home of Planless Diamonds Since 1888

Juniper 7-7771

Birth at Benton, Silver Spring

F Street N.W. STerling 3-1525



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Coleman Says Council Acted On Minority

A resolution authorized by the executive board of the Mississippi Citizens Council "did not have the support of the council's rank and file membership", according to Gov. J. P. Coleman.

Its lack of membership support, said the governor, is "obvious" from returns of Tuesday's Democratic precinct meetings throughout the state.

The resolution urges that Mississippi support no one for president except an "outspoken" proponent of the rights of states to run their public schools without federal interference.

Gov. Coleman, instead, insists that Mississippi's delegates to the national Democratic nominating convention in Chicago August 13 to be given a free hand to use their own discretion there.

The governor said at his regular Thursday afternoon press conference at the capitol that the resolution was "put out by only four or five in the council."

Robert Patterson, Greenwood, secretary for the state councils, said statewide distribution of the resolution had been authorized by the Citizens Council executive board.

He made the statement in a letter to Tom Tubb, chairman of the State democratic executive committee, after Tubb warned Patterson that the councils are making a mistake by entering partisan politics.

Patterson contended that the resolution was distributed as a matter of information. The resolution was passed at only a few of the state's 1,826 precinct meetings Tuesday.

"I'm well pleased with what happened in Mississippi Tuesday," said the governor, who called it a "landslide" for his stand for an uninstructed delegation to Chicago.

On other subjects discussed at the press conference, Gov. Coleman said:

He does not believe, after talking with leaders of the national Democratic party, that Mississippi is going to be insulted at the Chicago convention.

He is "just as good a states' righter as any man in Mississippi," adding, however, that "I've got my own ideas on how best to preserve those rights."

He thinks Estes Kefauver "definitely knocked himself out" of the running for president in California, where Adlai Stevenson scored a heavy victory over the Tennessee senator.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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C.F. W. [unclear]

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76 JUN 27 1955

STATE TIMES
JACKSON, MISS.
6/8/56

Page 10 B Col. 2 235

55 JUN 27 1956

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FBI — NEW ORLEANS	

HEAR—SEE

Judge TOM P. BRADY

Of Brookhaven, Mississippi

Widely known throughout the SOUTH for his leadership
in the CITIZENS COUNCIL MOVEMENT.

SPEAK ON THE SUBJECT
STATES RIGHTS—SEGREGATION

BASEBALL STADIUM

Columbia, Louisiana

SAT., JUNE 2, 8 P.M.

ADMISSION FREE

Judge Brady's speech will be broadcast over
KMLB at 9:00 P.M. Sat.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mason _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

*association of
Citizens Councils
of the South*

*McDonnell
C. F. H. [unclear]*

*file
105-34227*

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MONROE MORNING WORLD
MONROE, LA.
6/1/56
Page 2 B Cols. 1 & 2

71 JUN 10 1956

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Citizens' Council Answers Letter

The Mississippi Citizens' Council Thursday answered by letter charges by Tom J. Tubb, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, that it is interfering in political affairs.

Robert B. Patterson, secretary, in an open epistle distributed also to the press, had this to say:

"Dear Mr. Tubb:

I certainly appreciate your thoughtful letter written May 26th, which I have read carefully.

"Our State Association is not a political organization and we do not back any certain candidate or party. We are interested, however, in principles and in seeing that our members know what is going on in the political world. You may have noted that the enclosed resolution refers to both political parties.

"As you know, the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi is not controlled by any one man or small group of men. It is made up of

four hundred separate community organizations in sixty-five counties here in our state. While each group is autonomous, we have the same goal and our State Association merely assists in co-ordinating the efforts of the various Councils in this state, and between the other States.

"Our State Association has always tried to keep our members informed, as we feel this is our duty. We have never attempted to control their actions or to tell them how to vote.

"You will recall that we actively informed the people of Mississippi regarding the amendment to raise voter qualifications, and the amendment that gave our legisla-

(Continued on Page 12)

Citizens Council---

(Continued from Page 1)

ture the power to abolish public schools.

"Our State Executive Committee, representing each Congressional District, directed me to distribute this resolution, as a matter of information, to our members. It is neither original nor secret. South Carolina voted to recess their State Convention until after the National Democratic Convention. There has been much talk of a "Favorite Son" candidate in Texas, Ohio and other states. Our State Executive Committee felt that if there was any merit in the resolution it would be put to good use and if there was none it would be discarded, according to the judgment of our local organizations.

"Actually, the resolution was based upon a unanimous act by our legislature and also the actions of the Southern Congressmen and Senators who pledged themselves to use any and all legal and constitutional means against the forces of evil which attack our State and other Southern States. The main point in the resolution, of course, is the recessed convention which I, speaking personally, can see no objection whatsoever to.

"Personally, I agree with you that we should have other Southern States with us, but we must remember that the other Southern States look to Mississippi for leadership.

"I am confident that the delegates to our County, District and State Conventions of the Democratic Party of Mississippi will arrive at the best possible conclusions in these trying days ahead."

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Handwritten: Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Nease
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Miss Gandy

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THE CLARION-LEDGER
JACKSON, MISS.
6/1/56
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